

SOCIAL FORCES

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SOCIAL FORCES

December, 1936

EUROPEAN AND AMERICAN SOCIOLOGY: SOME COMPARISONS

EARLE EDWARD EUBANK

University of Cincinnati

THE most complete internationalism so far achieved by mankind is the internationalism of knowledge. Nations may differ widely on questions of religion, trade, and politics; their interests may clash over colonies, territories, boundaries, and markets; their opinions may diverge on policies of migrations and tariffs; but when it comes to developments in science, the emergence of theories of philosophy, or the enrichments of literature and the arts, the possessions of one nation quickly become the possessions of all.

Sociology, like other sciences, is neither the creation of a single people nor is it anyone's exclusive domain. The students of sociology of every country are alike indebted to Durkheim, Weber, Hobhouse, Kropotkin, Pareto, Ward, and many others for a body of materials and theory that tend with the passing of years to become merged into a single and more or less unified whole from which the individualistic claim of any one man or country is gradually erased. The writings of each are available to all; that which is found to be valid is accepted, and the invalid rejected, regardless of the birthplace of its originator.

When international conferences are held

on questions of politics, disarmaments, economic adjustments and the like, it is difficult for the ambassadors of the various states to divest themselves of their representative character. Each is biased by his particular political interest and tends to become a special pleader for his own country's point of view or objective. But when there is a national conference of philosophers or scientists, they tend to stand committed, not to special interests, but to the advancement of knowledge as whole. Science knows no political boundaries, and knowledge is as universal as the area of intercommunication of intelligent and educated minds.

This is not to say there are no differences among sciences of various lands; but those differences are of emphases, and of methods of approach to a common task, rather than appeals of vested interest. Where opinions clash, it is due to a difference of judgments as to the soundness and truth of the positions which are advanced, and not to a feeling that particular national rights are being invaded.

This article is intended to deal with some contrasting phases of sociology as it is developed today in Europe and United States. If its title seems to imply that Europe is a homogeneous whole with re-

spect to this subject, the impression should be corrected. Each country that has developed any considerable body of sociological writing has, of course, within the larger unity above mentioned, developed distinctive characteristics of its own; and there is room for an extended discussion of contrasting phases of sociology among the several European countries themselves. Russian sociology, for example, was not primarily developed as a contribution to sociology at all, but as a theory of society evolved out of conflict with a particular type of government. That of Germany was in large measure an outgrowth of her generations of intensive developments of philosophy, and particularly those of her theories of the state and government. That of France, especially since 1900, has been largely a reflection of the dominating mind of Durkheim and later on an elongation of his shadow. More recently that of Czechoslovakia has been a conscious effort to lay a scientific basis for the social policies of that brilliant new state.

There are certain features in which sociology has been developed in the United States which afford a basis of contrast with most of the European countries. These may be discussed under four heads: (1) Its place in the Universities; (2) Its connection with practical affairs; (3) Its method; (4) Its content.

THE PLACE OF SOCIOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITIES

In a real way, formal Sociology in the United States is a product of its universities. This is manifested first of all in the fact that most of her distinctly sociological literature has been the product of men definitely identified with her schools. When we list her most outstanding names in this field, we find only one—Lester F. Ward—who was not at the time of his

principal writings a member of some college faculty, or whose work was produced other than in connection with university teaching; and because of his outstanding sociological contributions, Ward was eventually called at the age of 65 to a professorship at Brown University where he spent the closing seven years of his life.

In Europe, on the other hand, many of the main contributors to sociological literature have come from other walks of life: Comte began his contributions as a mathematician; Bagehot as a literary critic and author, closely identified with banking; Ratzenhofer, as an army officer; Tarde, as a magistrate, and later as a director of criminal statistics in the Ministry of Justice; Pareto, as a practicing engineer; Kropotkin, as a political propagandist; Hobson, as a freelance writer.

Furthermore, many who were university teachers (including some of the above, who later took professorships) were primarily related to some other field than sociology: Comte lectured on astronomy for sixteen years; Tarde's field after he entered the College de France was modern philosophy; Pareto gave up his engineering practice to become Professor of Political Economy at the University of Lausanne; LePlay's interest in social studies began while he was Professor of Metallurgy at L'Ecole des Mines; Gumplowicz was for a third of a century a teacher on Administration and Administrative Law at the University of Graz; Simmel's field was philosophy and epistemology; whereas most of the contemporary sociologists in European universities are classified officially under other labels.

For some reason the name sociology has become popular in the United States as it has never done in Europe. In pre-Soviet Russia, opposition was doubtless due to its similarity to the word "socialism," where the very word was such an ana-

thema that, by order of the Council of Ministers, the entire 1200 copies of Volume I of the Russian edition of Lester F. Ward's *Dynamic Sociology* was burned when received in that country. Possibly the same antagonism may partly account for its lack of currency in Germany and France. When Emile Durkheim indicated to the learned committee before whom he appeared for his doctor's examination at the Sorbonne that his thesis was a treatise in sociology, one of them exclaimed: "That man Comte who invented the term Sociology was a madman, and any one who presents a thesis entitled 'Sociology' is a madman, too." In England, its lack of use has doubtless been due in part to the personal unpopularity of Herbert Spencer, who long before anyone else, was giving wide currency to the term in English. In the United States, on the contrary, the name was fortunate in that two of the most influential Universities—Chicago and Columbia—boldly established full-fledged departments under that name as early as 1892. As a result of these notable examples, there was wide imitation by other American colleges, until now, slightly more than four decades later, there are only a few major educational institutions in the United States in which sociology is not taught by name, and in many of them by departmental staffs often comprising several men; whereas Europe, which is the mother of the modern university, has but a few chairs that bear the name of "Sociology" and fewer still with departments so designated. England, for example, has only one designated sociological professorship—the Martin White chair of sociology at the University of London; France has only two,—that held by Dr. Halbwachs at Strasbourg and that of Dr. Fauconnet at The Sorbonne; Germany has only that of Dr. Freyer at Leipzig and of Dr. Wiese at Cologne; in Poland

there is only the one held by Dr. Znaniecki at Poznan; in Russia there are none. Sociology is recognized by name more completely in Czechoslovakia than anywhere else, each of her three Universities at Prague, Brno, and Bratislava having definite departments using the name.

This, of course, by no means indicates that sociology is not being taught in many other places. It is, however, being taught under other titles, or as a subordinate phase of something else. At the University of Berlin, for example, extensive work in sociology is being given by Drs. Vierkandt, Spranger, Sombart, and others, but it is all listed under the Faculty of Philosophy; at Vienna, it is carried under the Faculty of Law; at the Sorbonne it is also a division of Philosophy, though there exists one chair of sociology; at Birmingham it is listed as social science. These are typical examples of the way in which the name itself is obscured in European universities.

All of the features mentioned above carry with them important corollaries. One of the first has already been stated: that most of its European teachers are persons who originally prepared for some other field and came to sociology by an indirect route. Indeed numbers of them still feel that they are sociologists only secondarily, or perhaps incidentally, and therefore do not bring to this subject the centralized attention and the zest that one has for a field to which he is exclusively devoted. In the United States, the increasing numbers of persons who are devoting their scholastic lives wholly to sociology means an ever increasing quantity and intensity of impact upon her student bodies.

From this fact comes another corollary, namely, that of the large number of American students—some thousands altogether—who include the subject in their

college curricula. There are many single schools where the number of students in sociology classes runs into the hundreds, of whom more than their numerical proportion are specializing in the subject. From this body of undergraduates comes an increasing number who are going on for advanced degrees in the field.

Another corollary follows: that of the fewness of textbooks on sociology in the European universities and an over-abundance of them in the United States. It is important, of course, to distinguish between that enormous body of volumes in the United States produced primarily for textbook purposes, and the much smaller number of genuinely original treatises written with the purpose of advancing the horizons of its knowledge. In Europe, the treatise type greatly predominates over the textbook type.

All of what has been written above is reflected in the number and type of sociological organizations that have developed on opposite sides of the ocean. The American Sociological Society, founded in 1905, has increased in numbers and importance so that its sessions now are conducted with several programs in progress simultaneously. Its regular membership exceeds twelve hundred persons, and its attendance at the annual meeting has, including visitors, occasionally exceeded one thousand. A number of regional societies, which are strongly supported, have also been developed. In this respect the contrast to European countries is quite pronounced. Their several national societies were, of course, badly disrupted by the war, but it is natural with a much smaller number of persons eligible for membership, that they should not have developed as strong an organizational life.

On the other hand, an American is impressed by the fact that the European societies, generally speaking, include an enviable number of distinguished persons

from outside fields. Among the charter members of the British Sociological Society in 1904, for example, were James Bryce, Lowes Dickinson, Sidney Webb, and A. J. Balfour. Memberships in the continental societies reveal a somewhat similar broadness. Such cosmopolitanism of thought and diffusion of interests perhaps makes for a greater unity among the social sciences than is found in America where extreme specialization is fostered.

One must recognize also that Europe has succeeded in developing a much more truly international outlook than has been done in America. The sociological society which has had the longest unbroken history is *L'Institut International de Sociologie* which was founded in 1893. Although it has had four presidents from our side of the water—Lester F. Ward, Franklin H. Giddings, Charles A. Ellwood and Pitirim A. Sorokin, who now holds the office—they have been selected as individuals, and not as representatives of the American Sociological Society. We Americans must regretfully confess that our international participation here (as in the League of Nations) has been far below that which would be logically anticipated on the basis of the very principles of the science we represent.

The cosmopolitanism of interests above referred to is reflected especially in *L'Institut International*, which has had among its officers such distinguished names from other fields as J. Lubbock and E. B. Tylor from anthropology; Boehm-Bawerk and Marshall from economics; Galton from eugenics; Baldwin from psychology; and Clemenceau, Poincare, and Wilson from political administration.

THE CONNECTION BETWEEN SOCIOLOGY AND PRACTICAL AFFAIRS

We are perhaps justified in making the generalization that sociology in Europe is much more directly the outgrowth of

current questions of national life than in the United States. Albion W. Small, in his *Origins of Sociology* (University of Chicago Press, 1924) maintained that its true beginnings were to be found in the statecraft of Germany of a century and more ago, and especially in that body of statesmen known as the Cameralists, and their accompanying philosophers: Savigny, Eichhorn, Niebuhr, and others. Hobhouse in his volume on *The Metaphysical Theory of the State* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1918) makes clear that social theory in Germany has been definitely shaped by its acceptance of Hegel's theory of the state as an entity over and above the general population which it represents. This is not only reflected in German sociological writing but has given an impetus to much of it as well.

Russian sociology, as Julius Hecker has clearly pointed out in his book of that title (London: Chapman and Hall, revised edition, 1934), was developed not primarily as a contribution to science, but as an effort to develop a "theology of statecraft," so to speak, which would justify the overthrow of the absolutism under the Czar and the setting up of not only a new form of government, but one with an entirely different philosophy. Curiously enough the work of two outstanding German authorities, Hegel and Karl Marx, has given the basis upon which the later Russian sociology has been developed. In Czechoslovakia is encountered a development of the subject which is unique. Honorable Thomas G. Masaryk, the great first President of that Republic, was by his own choice designated as Professor of "Sociology" at the University of Prague nearly thirty years before the World War. The national Sociological Society of that country is called the Masaryk Society. He is still Professor Emeritus of Sociology at Prague; and his former Minister of Foreign Affairs,

now President Edward Benes, is also honorary Professor of Sociology. This cordial relationship between sociology and the government is reflected in the abundance of sociological writings of that country which have been consciously prepared for the purpose of laying foundations upon which the social policies of this vigorous government are definitely based. Hobhouse, the greatest of contemporary British sociologists, as a matter of fact built up his whole sociological doctrine about a theory of relationships between society and government. The four volumes which contain this are not only a system of sociology, but they are a presentation of his fundamental theory of government as well. Vilfredo Pareto is called by many "the father of Italian Fascism," the fascist state finding much of its ideological justification in his sociological writings, although he himself probably did not anticipate such a result. Nor must we forget that August Comte was driven originally to his perceptions and declarations of a need for a rational "science of society" by the social and political problems of the France of a century ago.

There is nothing which corresponds to these situations in the United States. The very fact that sociology in America has been primarily the fruitage of university classrooms means that it has developed an unfortunate detachment from the general policies of government itself. That is not to say that teachers of sociology here are not interested in public affairs; it simply means that their professional thinking and writing have been relatively undisturbed by such great problems of public affairs as have dominated certain of the European countries. Their work has, naturally, been conditioned and colored by living in America, but they have had little major part in the development of the theories or policies of the

government under which they dwell. Many individuals, of course, have participated in the affairs of practical life, and one might easily construct a long list of American sociologists who have, in one way or another, definitely had a part in practical undertakings, just as is true in Europe; but there is little evidence that this participation has had direct bearing upon the basic theories of the sociology which they have produced.

In another and indirect way, however, both the United States and several countries of Europe have experienced practical consequences that may be far-reaching. The term is more and more encountered on both continents in the popular writings of persons who are not professional sociologists. By them it is loosely used to imply a way of looking at problems and appraising situations that is collective and social rather than individualistic and self-centered. It may well be that the permeating influence of this "sociological point of view" will eventually become a potent factor in practical affairs throughout the modern world.

SOCIOLOGICAL METHOD

When one comes to the question of method it is difficult to frame a valid generalization as to the contrast between the two continents. If one were comparing Germany with the United States, he would probably agree with Dr. Leopold von Wiese's observation that Germany is closer to philosophy, especially to logic and epistemology, whereas the United States is closer to science; that method in the United States tends to be inductive as contrasted with deductive in Germany; and that Germany is more concerned with broad generalizations and universal conclusions, whereas in the United States the greater stress is upon a more intensive

study of specific fields of phenomena. Possibly the method most stressed in the United States at the present time is that of scientific observation, of research, of detailed work upon concrete projects. Although Great Britain through its Institute of Sociology, under the direction of Dr. and Mrs. Alexander Farquharson, conducts a definite program of field studies and research, not only in Great Britain, but abroad, this general method does not seem to be common in most European universities. In the United States, however, it has been growing apace. The "laboratory" method—meaning by that a type of activity that is carried on for the study of concrete data by means of devices for objective analysis—is spreading in America, whereas only a few years ago most study on university campuses was carried on almost entirely as library work. There are now many schools using "laboratories" of various sorts where they carry on investigation by means of direct contact with the phenomena itself, rather than by indirect contact through books.

A striking trend in the United States during the past ten to fifteen years has been the development of ecology, in which much field work is required in the examination and analysis of concrete localities. Methods recently developed have given to this branch a type of study which is as objective and definite as anything employed by the physical sciences.

Statistical techniques are also playing an increasing part in American sociology. Although we are greatly indebted to Karl Pearson, Yule, and others from abroad for much of the procedure used, and although we are deeply impressed with the magnificent statistical studies being carried on by various European governments, it would seem that statistical method as such has invaded the *teaching* of sociology some-

what more in the United States than in Europe.

SOCIOLOGICAL CONTENT

Sociological "content" is, of course, wholly dependent upon what one means by sociology, and in America as in Europe there are many divergent definitions. Probably most American sociologists, however, would be in agreement with the notion that sociology is (or is becoming) the science which seeks to deal analytically with the forms and processes of human association. While, of course, this necessitates the study of human relationships wherever found, the point emphasized in American sociology is the phenomena concerned with the association itself rather than with any historical questions, or evaluative judgments involved in associations of a particular time and place.

Such a conception is, to be sure, a great narrowing of the field which in various places is attributed to sociology. (Of course, anything written regarding any phase of the group life of mankind is sociological in the sense that it deals with human association; but as most of us see it in America, in order to be sociology, the material must of necessity be to some extent the outgrowth of a conscious attempt at a scientific analysis of association *per se*.) In Europe, however, one finds much material included as sociology which does not conform to this definition. For example, *Le Guide de l'étudiant en Sociologie*, prepared by Messrs. Bouglé and Deat in 1931, lists by name not only general sociology, but domestic, and political, and juristic, and moral, and religious, and economic sociology. Much of the literature listed in their bibliography would not be sociological at all in the sense indicated above, but is, instead, descriptive material upon which our sociological analysis

would be based. Probably the leading sociologists of the United States would feel that there is no such thing as "domestic," "political," "religious," etc., sociology, but would insist there is only one sociology, namely that which involves the concepts and principles which relate to human association wherever found; just as there is no "domestic," or "political," or "religious," chemistry, but simply one chemistry which operates in various situations. This seems to be an important point of difference between American and European sociology; but the point must not be stressed too much, for it would be easy to produce a fair sized library of material called sociology by American writers which would violate the distinction here laid down.

With reference to content, one can perhaps discern certain fields that have been developed in the United States which are not found to any considerable degree in Europe. For example, the central idea of ecology, previously mentioned, is that one studies human relationships as they are affected by their environment through competition for values, of which the supply is limited. Although this has not been satisfactorily developed as yet, the idea has made great headway and ecological studies are rapidly developing in the United States. The extended use of statistics has also been noted. Another of our somewhat unique and distinct types of study is one which involves the analysis of personal documents such as diaries, correspondence, personal confessions, and the like. Still another is a study by means of the intensive examination of particular cases of a special type. Still another may be called "the conceptual approach" to sociology, wherein by means of an especial adaptation of the principles of logic analyses are undertaken through definitely formulated concepts (which Durkheim

called "collective representations") peculiar to the field.

We are impressed by the fact that many European writers, by contrast, have been more inclined toward the development of well-rounded philosophies, comparatively complete in themselves. Examples of this are Tarde's *Laws of Imitation*, Gumplowicz' theory of *Der Rassenkampf*, Kropotkin's doctrine of *Mutual Aid*, Spann's *Universalismus*, and Oppenheimer's and Hobhouse's respective conceptions of the state and society.

Space limitations prevent going further. The foregoing paragraphs have attempted to indicate some of the more striking

points of comparison between the sociologies of the two continents. We differ in various ways in subject matter, in methods of discovery and presentation, in relation to schools and public life. Among us are divergent approaches and divergent emphases. But beneath all differences is a unity which binds us together into an increasing consciousness of interests that refuses to be restricted by limitations found in the national differences that on many fronts have so long produced political partisanship and international conflict. Sociology today cannot be successfully classified under nationalistic designations.

HENRY HUGHES, FIRST AMERICAN SOCIOLOGIST*

L. L. BERNARD

Washington University

PERHAPS I should have called him the world's first sociologist, except that it is scarcely possible to draw a definite line between what is pre-sociology and that which is sociology proper. Although Comte never wrote a sociology, he invented the term sociology and is regarded by many as the first sociologist. Others still go much further back to discover the first writers who should properly bear this title; some to Vico, others to Aristotle, and a few even to Plato. With these I have no quarrel. What I wish to

affirm is that Henry Hughes was the first man anywhere in the world, so far as I know, to write a treatise which bore the title sociology.¹ In the same year Thomas Fitzhugh of Virginia published his *Sociology for the South*, but this was a controversial work rather than a systematic treatise on the science itself.

To be sure, the field had been prepared for Henry Hughes and it would be far from the truth to contend that he was the inventor of the subject sociology. There is an abundance of evidence that he had developed his work on sociology before he was acquainted with the name and that the name itself was an after-thought. Henry Hughes was born near Port Gibson (possibly at Grand Gulf), Mississippi, in 1829. His parents had migrated down the Ohio and Mississippi rivers from Ken-

* Professor Bernard began his investigations of the sociology of Henry Hughes in 1927 and in 1930 discussed with the Editor preliminary arrangements for the publication of an article on the subject in *SOCIAL FORCES*. Final submission of the article was delayed until the spring of 1936 in order that a personal visit might be made to the home town of Henry Hughes for the purpose of collecting additional materials, and publication of the article itself has been further delayed until the present issue of *SOCIAL FORCES* because of other commitments.—*The Editors*.

¹ Henry Hughes, *Treatise on Sociology, Theoretical and Practical*. Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo and Co., 1854. 292 pp.

tucky, whither they or their parents had arrived earlier from Virginia. He was educated at Alcorn College (now the Mississippi state agricultural college for Negroes) some fifteen miles to the southwest of Port Gibson, and graduated at the age of eighteen, in 1847. After this he read law and engaged in planting for a time, and then he spent the years 1849-1851 in New Orleans studying law and perfecting himself in a knowledge of the social issues of the time. Returning to Port Gibson, he practiced law, engaged in journalistic activities, and undertook an extended tour through Europe, including Germany, Italy, and France. At Paris he met the leading sociological thinkers of the time, including Comte, under whose influence he came to such a degree that the minister who preached his funeral sermon in 1862 referred to this heterodox adventure with marked regret. Returning to the United States and his home town, he revised and extended a work which he is reputed to have prepared in the first draft as a senior in college and published it under the title indicated above.²

² This work was first called to my attention in 1927 by Dr. G. P. Wyckoff, when I went to Tulane University to teach. At that time this work was entirely unknown to the public and I believe had never been cited. Only one review of it had ever been published in America. This appeared in *DeBow's Review* (XVII: 646, 1854) and runs as follows: "*Treatise on Sociology*." This is a curiously metaphysical work, the production of Henry Hughes, we believe, of Mississippi. Time has not admitted our examination of it, and therefore we are not prepared for any opinion. There are probably but few persons who can bestow upon such a volume the study which it requires, but then books are not to be estimated by the number of their readers. The object of the author is to work out philosophically and express some of the views of the southern people upon the subject of slavery [The scope of the book is much broader than this—L. L. B.]. The style of the work is sententious, and its logic without ornament. Taylor and Maury, Washington." The first bibliographical reference to this work by any sociologist was made by me in "Some Historical and

Although there are a few articles, a pamphlet or two, and a few unpublished manuscripts—one particularly advocating temperance—besides, the *Treatise on Sociology* contains a summary of the extant sociological theories of Henry Hughes. The evident motivation in writing the book was to find a general societary justification for the white man's tutelage of the Negro peoples in the south—Hughes repudiated the term slavery—and to evolve a theory of social organization and control, a theory of social rights and duties—in fact, a social system—which would at once justify and make tolerable from a human welfare stand-point this socioeconomic relationship. Thus it may be said that Hughes did not produce a bona fide sociology, but a special plea for a predatory institution. This, however, would not be a true statement of the case. Until very recently, I suspect, every system of sociology has had its *raison d'être* in the interest of its constructor in the defense of one or more social institutions which the author regarded as primary in the social order. Thus the independence of the individual, the preservation of the family, the defense of Christianity or of the conventional morality, the welfare of labor or of capital, the justification of democracy, have been the central themes in a score or more of treatises on sociology within the last two generations. Only very recently, if at all, has there been a genuine attempt to discover the "natural" order of human society as revealed in the

Recent Trends of Sociology in the United States," *Southwestern Political and Social Science Quarterly*, 1928, Vol. IX, pp. 264-295. After gathering what information I could regarding the author and his work by correspondence and, with the aid of Jessie Bernard, searching through the periodical files of the Library of Congress at Washington for several seasons, I visited Port Gibson in September, 1934 and secured further data from surviving relatives and friends of Henry Hughes preparatory to the present analysis.

"evolutionary process," or in the set-up of human traditions, and to describe it as it exists instead of as the institutional partisan would have it be.

Although this is not a part of my purpose here, it might even be questioned legitimately whether a system of sociology may properly be limited to a description of what exists, sociologically speaking, or whether it should not rather include as an additional projection what is ideally and scientifically possible.³ In other words, the highest development of any science demands invention in addition to description, and this particular phase of invention I have denominated projective invention.⁴ Furthermore, it must be said that Henry Hughes' view of sociology was much wider than his interest in slavery. He succeeded, as the reader may easily determine for himself, in constructing a theory of human society, partly descriptive and partly projective, which was remarkably complete in detail and well planned and harmonized for its purpose in a manner which was surprising for his place and time. Although I cannot accept his scheme of things in its entirety, I feel compelled to honor him for the thoroughness of his painstaking analyses and the logical perfection of his system.

The volume under discussion is divided into six books as follows:

- Book I. Theoretical Sociology (pp. 45-75).
- Book II. Practical Sociology: Economics; Production (pp. 77-116).⁵
- Book III. Practical Sociology: Economics; Distribution (pp. 117-170).
- Book IV. Practical Sociology: Progress of Free-Labor Society (pp. 171-204).

³ See L. L. Bernard, "The Objective Viewpoint in Sociology," *American Journal of Sociology*, Nov., 1919.

⁴ See "Invention and Social Progress," *Amer. Journal of Sociology*, July, 1923.

⁵ For an irregularity in this part of the outline see discussion below.

Book V. Practical Sociology: Law of Warrantecism (pp. 205-258).

Book VI. Practical Sociology: Civil Expediency of Warrantecism (pp. 259-292).

The general plan of the book is closely analogous to a type of treatise somewhat common in his student days and which he may have used in his class work, combining in one volume a treatment of government and constitutional law with a discussion of economic principles.⁶ But the originality of Hughes' book is sufficiently evident when it is observed that the portion usually devoted to an analysis of government and the constitution in other works is here dedicated to general sociology proper, and of a character that would still be recognized as such. While the remainder of the work deals very largely with economic and political questions, it is predominantly sociological in its emphasis and rightly bears the caption Practical Sociology.⁷

⁶ See Marcius Willson, *A Treatise on Civil Polity and Political Economy* (New York, 1838), which was divided into two parts: Book I. Civil Polity; Book II. Elements of Political Economy.

⁷ In the absence of any recorded evidence on the matter, I have found myself speculating as to whether the original work as composed in his student days was not primarily a treatise on the economics, politics, and morals of slavery corresponding to Books II-V of the *Treatise on Sociology* as it appeared in its final form. My reasons for believing that such may have been the case, however slender they may be, are (1) that Book I is so obviously a logical and analytical preparation for the books that follow that I am led to believe that it could the more easily have been prepared after the arguments in the succeeding books had already been sketched out as so many columns to be erected upon a substantial, logical or sociological base, that is, upon Book I. (2) While Book I is headed "Theoretical Sociology," without any special introduction, Book II has two introductory statements. The first of these, covering two pages, is entitled Theoretical Sociology. The second, consisting of three pages, carries the caption Economics. The content of these two introductions indicate that they refer to the content of Books II-VI entire, although they are placed within the limits of Book II. As will be seen from the outline of the book presented

From all of the evidence I conclude that Henry Hughes had become a sociologist in fact before he was such in name. He uses the term *societary* throughout the work, deals with sociological data constantly, and thinks from a sociological standpoint rather than strictly from that of economics, or of politics, or of ethics. This last fact is particularly interesting, since in his day Moral Philosophy occupied more especially the field now covered by sociology and few, if any, writers with a sociological interest had gone beyond the ethical terminology and point of view. Yet Henry Hughes, living in a small town in southwestern Mississippi—but a sometime resident of New Orleans and a traveller in Europe—had achieved this degree of progress.

The definition of sociology is placed at

above, the words *Practical Sociology* occur in the titles to each of the succeeding Books, while the word *Economics* occurs in the titles of Books II-III only. It seems clear, therefore, that Books II-VI may be considered in a category relatively distinct from Book I and that they may have constituted as a whole, or in part, the original basic work. Also, the leading titles "*Theoretical Sociology*" and *Practical Sociology* may have been added as an after-thought. (3) Book VI corresponds pretty closely to a pamphlet on warrantage published separately for purposes of legislative and political propaganda in the south. (4) As already stated, the volume did not get its final shape until the author returned from Europe in the early eighteen-fifties, where he apparently heard of sociology for the first time. He is reported by his surviving relatives to have revised the book in the light of the new viewpoint obtained from Comte and his school after he returned from Europe. (5) The word "*sociology*" does not appear in the text at all, except on page 291, in a section which is obviously an appended conclusion. The word *sociological* is found but once in the text, on page 286. Yet the word *sociology* appears constantly in the general title, in the divisional titles, and in the page heads or leads. (6) Thus the internal evidence seems to show that the term *sociology* as applied to the work was an after-thought, probably dating to the period 1853-1854, and was not a part of the original draft.

the head of the discussion of Book I, "*Theoretical Sociology*," and outside of the regular text material, as if it were an after-thought, added to the text for the enlightenment of a reader who was encountering the term for the first time. Its omission from the body of the text appears to me to be significant in the light of the discussion above. The definition runs as follows: "*Sociology is the science of societary organization. It is, 1, Theoretical, and, 2, Practical.*"⁸ There is no further elucidation of the nature of sociology as such in the volume. The remainder of the work is devoted to an exposition of the content of sociology as the author understands it. The author adheres meticulously to his definition of the subject in developing his analysis and exposition. It is interesting to note that the flavor of the work is strongly Comtean, especially after the manner of the views set forth in the *Positive Polity*. Here is the same strong insistence upon the primacy of the elite, the distinction between a free labor society and one dominated by a guiding aristocracy of science, the importance of the humanitarian ideal, the primacy of law and order, the necessity of progress, the stewardship of the intellectuals, and even the seven-fold division of his subject-matter.

In the body of the treatise the primacy of society is recognized and insisted upon as the essential condition of individual existence, also of the progress of the individual. The author says, "*Society is essential to actualize the existence of all. It is the immediate invariable antecedent of it. Progress, also, is the duty of all. But society is essential to this. It is the necessary implement of the progress of all. Because, therefore, society is the essential means for ends morally essential, society, or association, adaptation, and regulation*

⁸ Henry Hughes, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

for the existence and progress of all, is a duty. Duty of the end is duty of the means. Because, therefore, man is moral, society is a law of nature and a moral necessity. It is a religious necessity. It is a hygienic necessity; it is an esthetic and philosophic necessity; it is an institution of God."⁹

There are several implications in this passage describing the nature and necessity of society as a basis of individual realization which are essential to Hughes' sociological system. Society is defined as "association, adaptation, and regulation for the existence and progress of all." He further asserts that "every society is in its essence a civil or political economy."¹⁰ Again and again the author insists upon the absolute necessity of adaptation and regulation.¹¹ The reason for the absoluteness of this necessity is that society owes it to everyone to guarantee his existence against want and death,¹² and this social obligation can not be fulfilled except with the strictest cooperation and organization of all the members of society, civilly enforced if necessary.¹³ The author repeatedly expresses his disapproval of a laissez-faire society, which he considers to be incapable of fulfilling its obligation of safeguarding the existence and welfare of all.¹⁴ It is the existence of this corporate social obligation which makes society a duty of men, and also a law of nature, as well as an institution of God. Although Henry Hughes had apparently known Comte and his followers, and had probably regarded himself as one of these followers of Comte, he had not yet divested himself of his meta-

physical and theological preconceptions. He still confused the moral and the natural and the supernatural and the social in his thinking. To a true Comtean the social would have been the moral, but (as Ward later emphasized) the artificial rather than the natural; and scarcely in either case the supernatural. He was still too near the time when sociology was moral philosophy, and moral philosophy was the Natural Law of the Church, to be able to untangle the concepts he used and to re-define them according to the new Comtean Positivism, as was later achieved so neatly by Lester F. Ward, the first really adequate American interpreter of Comte's main Thesis. But our purpose is to explain rather than to criticise the sociological theories of Henry Hughes.

The author goes further in his exposition of the nature of society. He says, "Of society, the substance is order: of order, the substance is orderers and ordereds (rulers and ruled, capitalists and laborers). What the form is, is accidental. The form is nothing other than the adaptation and regulation of the orderers and ordereds. The substance of society is by nature; the form, by art: God made the substance; man makes the form. God commands the association of men for the mutual existence and progress of all. In that He is imperative. But the modality or conditions of association are changeable. The substance of society is immutable and ingressive; the form, mutable and progressive. Substantiation is by God; formation, by man."¹⁵ What, then, is this substantial and immutable foundation of human association or society? The answer seems to hark back to Aristotle. "Man is gregarious."¹⁶ But Hughes has obviously also become acquainted with the modern psychological terminology.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 175.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 179.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 107, 162, 185-6, 196 ff., 204, 231, 238.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 81, 123, 141 ff., 154, 159, 169, 178 ff., 200, 220, 225, 287, 291.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 139, 183, 185-6, 201-2, 231.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 144-5, 147, 181-3, 187, 195 ff., 290-1.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 175.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

Although he nowhere mentions them, the internal evidence would seem to indicate that as a corrective he was familiar with both the Scotch school of predestinarian-Natural Law-instinctivists and the French-English school of environmentalists of the eighteenth century. For he at once raises with himself the question of the origin and nature of this gregariousness that is basic to human society. He says, "His (man's) gregation is not instinctive only; subhuman gregation is instinctive only. Man is rational. His gregation is therefore both instinctive, if men have instincts, and rational."¹⁷

And here he makes a distinction as to the factors involved in human association which anticipates Ward in his central thesis. He divides, somewhat clumsily to be sure, these factors into instinctive (Ward's emotional) and rational. It seems that the former are the basic, natural causes of association, those ordained by God; while the rational are those that shape the development of the changing forms of association in the direction of progress. His own words are: "The rational power or reason is that which adapts and regulates means to ends. Rational gregation, therefore, is government or order; the adaptation and regulation of an association. Such gregation is the means of existence: reason discovers and realizes it and reason prescribes or promulgates the law of Nature."¹⁸ That is, reason discovers or describes the law of Nature (Natural Law), but does not create it. That is the creation of Nature, or of Nature's God. He assumes, according to the thinking of the eighteenth century, that society is based on a compact. But, "of a compact or agreement, the essence is free-will, or choice,"¹⁹ and free-will or

choice he seems to regard as an innate quality which, if not instinctive, still at least comes from Nature or from God. Hence society, based on compact, is basically natural, instinctive, regulated by conscience (which is one of the native propensities according to this school of thought) and of God.

This viewpoint he makes clear in his own words, without giving the historical background of his thought: "Therefore, the origin of rational (as distinguished from instinctive or natural) association is morally not in a compact or agreement of the associates. Because the association is not free, but commanded. It is a duty or law of God."²⁰ And the will is not free to do or not to do a duty. There is no choice. Duty is without alternative. Society substantially is, therefore, not from contract or agreement. The substance of society is perfunctory,—every individual is under an obligation to associate for the existence and progress of himself and others. Dissociation is immoral and unnatural. Isolation is injury."²¹ I take it that this rather strained and devious argument to prove that the duty of association is not merely human or utilitarian, but fundamentally based in Natural Law and Theology, even in human nature, was undertaken to establish the validity of his assertion that society owes everyone existence and progress, two things that he contends cannot be achieved except by compulsory adaptation and regulation, which in turn are the essential elements of his theory of warrantecism, or a compulsory social order.

Having gone to so much trouble to establish the duty and necessity of man to live in society for the common good of all, he is not the less concerned with the defi-

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 175-176.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 176. See also pp. 262-5.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 176.

²⁰ He might have said a "law of Nature" quite as well.

²¹ Henry Hughes, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

nition of the ends of society. "The first end of society is the existence of all. Its second end is the progress of all."²² These two ends of society are converted into duties on the part of society toward the individuals in society and into rights of members against society as a whole. With regard to the first of these rights, he says, "All have a right to live and society is the executor of the right."²³ But it is quite clear that a bare right is of little value to people unless there is a means by which it may be realized in practice. He recognizes this fact and his answer is as follows: "Personal subsistence and personal security are the means of existence. They are prime necessities."²⁴ And it is the obligation of society to provide these prime requisites of existence. "Subsistence is the first end of society. This is the subsistence of every member of society. It is not the subsistence of a part. It is not the subsistence of a class. It is the subsistence of every class; or a comfortable livelihood for everybody."²⁵

Such a sweeping requirement of course involves a theory of assistance for the incompetent or incapable members of society. "Subsistence is what is always just. . . . The due of all is necessary subsistence. This is a comfortable sufficiency of necessities for health and strength. It is the right of every member of society. It is not the right of the efficient only. It is the right of both efficient and inefficient."²⁷ But the fulfillment of such a social obligation cannot be realized without some provision for charity. This also is an obligation of society. "The moral theory of any economic system is

the *assistance* of all for the *subsistence* of all. Subsistence is fixed by nature; assistance is variable by art."²⁸ But charity or economic relief was not Henry Hughes' regular method of righting inequalities of distribution, as we shall soon see. It was to be used only for those who because of some defect of age, body, or mind were incapable of self-support and then, with the partial exception of family dependents, was to be administered only by the state.²⁹ Economic justice, or a just share in distribution, was to be secured through a controlled economic organization of society.³⁰

The ends of society are realized through the several social systems, of which we shall speak at an appropriate place. We have seen that subsistence and security are the essential means to existence, according to the sociological system of Henry Hughes. "The economic system is the organ of subsistence; the political system, the organ of security. These realize the first end of society."³¹ These two social systems or organs of society—the economic and the political—are therefore basic to all social organization and realization, and of these two the economic is primary. "The beginning or ingress of a society, therefore, is not the political system only; for security without subsistence is insufficient: that is not the existence of all. Neither is the ingress of society the economic system alone. Security and subsistence are both necessary; the ingress of a society is therefore both an economic and a political system. The union of these is a political economy. This therefore is the foundation of society; and this, its commencement. The societary organization necessary for the ex-

²² *Ibid.*, p. 47.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 123.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 140.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 123.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 141.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 123.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 140-1.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 177, 201, 228, 230, 286.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

istence of all is a political economy. This is primary. It is for subsistence and security. The essence of every society is, therefore, a political economy.³² . . . Morally, every society is in its essence a civil or political economy."³³

Since subsistence is primary in society, the economic system is its organ. Subsistence is not possible without production. But not all production is economic. There is production of men, including labor and labor power; production of mind; production of capital; and production of material things.³⁴ The production of material things occurs by making atomic (chemical), aggregate (physical), or local (place) changes in the object.³⁵ "The production of mind is by changing either its powers, faculties, or intellect; or its motives, desires, or springs of action. This is the production of either (1) skill, or (2) will. These must be duly qualified. They must be orderly; they must be associative, apt, and regular. Before mental power, therefore, can produce, it must itself be produced."³⁶ Labor also is a product. "A simple-laborer is . . . a three-fold product. He is produced anatomically and aggregately. This is his bodily production. He is produced to the locality where he is useful. This is his local production. He is produced mentally. This is his motive production. A skilled-laborer is a four-fold product; he is produced intellectually also. He has therefore four values; and a simple-laborer, three only. These are his bodily value, local value, and motive value."³⁷ Capital is either a gift of nature, and therefore but little subject to human creation or produc-

tion,³⁸ or a product of labor. Labor itself, or labor power, is the most flexible form of capital and therefore the most adaptable and subject to control and creation by man.³⁹ Altogether "there are three classes of producers. One is the class of capitalists. They are mentalists. The other is the class of skilled laborers. They are manual-mentalists. The third class are simple-laborers. They are manualists. Each is a class of economic power" in production, and each must itself be produced.⁴⁰ Everybody must contribute to production, because everybody has rights to a share in the production. "Everybody ought to work. Labor, whether of mind or body, is a duty. We are morally obliged to contribute to the subsistence and progress of society. The obligation is universal. To consume, and not to produce either directly or remotely, is wrong. Idleness is a crime. It is unjust. Every class of society has its economic duty. If it does not do it; if it positively or negatively violates its duty; that is criminal. It may be a misdemeanor so high as to be heinous. Production is a societary obligation."⁴¹

But production, so necessary to subsistence and existence, is only a part of this economic system, which is the basic organ of society. "The other parts are distribution, exchange and consumption. If, therefore, the whole is perfect in its essentials and accidentals, the parts must be. Perfect production is insufficient. That is initiatory only. The economic distribution must, in a perfect system, be perfect. This is essential. Its perfection is as important as that of any other part."⁴² Judging from the emphasis

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 47-48.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 179.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 84 ff.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 84-85.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 87-88.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 99-100.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 85, 91, 96, 106, 163, etc.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 86.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 95.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 119.

given by the author to the problem of distribution in its various ramifications, he must have considered it the most important phase of the economic system so far as his sociological theory was concerned. He has little to say about exchange anywhere in the book, this being more specifically an economic subject. Comparing the other functional aspects of the economic system, he says, "Consumption is the immediate means of subsistence; production, the ultimate. Distribution is intermediate. The perfection of any one of these is the perfection of all. There cannot be perfect production without perfect distribution; nor perfect consumption without both. For distribution and consumption are not ends only of production; they are means of it. They are motives of production. Unless the motives therefore are perfect, the product never can be. Men will not work without they have a good inducement. The better they are induced, the better they produce."⁴³

The author is constantly invoking standards in testing the validity of any phase of social organization or behavior. This practice is especially noticeable in his treatment of economic relations. He says, "In economic systems are therefore three standards. The first is (1), the standard of Justice. Its end is societary."⁴⁴ The second is (2), the standard of Subsistence. Its end is systematic.⁴⁴ The third is (3), the standard of Wages. Its end is departmental and distributional. The standard of justice is never below the standard of subsistence; because all have a right to live, and society is the executor of the right. The standard of wages may or may not be the standard of justice. In a perfect economy it must be; because

wages ought to be just. Justice ought to govern distribution; and the tribute to a class ought never to be less than a comfortable sufficiency of necessities for health and strength. Whatever is the maximum, that is the minimum."⁴⁵ Thus, in accordance with the standard here announced, the author commits himself repeatedly to the principle of the minimum wage.⁴⁶

The author is equally definite with regard to the principle of the standard of living. He has in mind both a minimum efficiency standard and a maximum efficiency standard of living,⁴⁷ but like all the commentators on this subject since his day he devotes much more attention to the former than to the latter. Of the former he says, "The distribution, therefore, to a class ought to be, in the minimum, a comfortable sufficiency of necessities. Whatever its maximum, this ought to be its minimum. However the tribute to the class may vary above this; however large it may be; it ought never to vary below: it ought never to be less. All should be warranted their minimum. It should be realized for the whole class; not for efficient only; but for both efficient and inefficient. Each class ought to have for all in it: food of sufficient quantity and quality, raiment for warmth or decency, and habitations fitted to the seasons. The sufficiency of these should be comfortable: for less than comfort in them is want. Such a comfortable sufficiency is the minimum tribute to any class. That is its least share. It ought to be realized to all. Otherwise, the first end of society is not realized. But this is wrong. It is injustice: it must not be."⁴⁸ In addition

⁴³ Henry Hughes, *op. cit.*, pp. 123-124.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 144, 152, 156 ff., 161 ff., 168-9, 202-3, 273, 275, 284 ff.

⁴⁷ See L. L. Bernard, "Planes of Living and Standards of Living," *Social Forces*, 1928, Vol. VII, pp. 190-202.

⁴⁸ Henry Hughes, *op. cit.*, pp. 141-142.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ Effective equivalents for the terms "societary" and "systematic," as here employed, would be "moral" or "fundamental," and "technical."

to the items of food, clothing, and shelter, mentioned above, the author also specifies furniture, necessary household utensils, taxes, medical attendance, medicines, nursing, transportation to places where employment may be obtained, defense in legal actions, insurance, and damages for wrongs as other items in the minimum efficiency standard.⁴⁰ For a maximum efficiency standard he mentions in addition the items of education for self improvement; esthetic training and enjoyment, including recreation; and moral and religious training and opportunities.⁵⁰

We may now raise the question, previously deferred, of how the minimum efficiency standard of living, and the minimum wage upon which it must be based, may be secured without resort to charity. The author did not believe that such a realization could be achieved under the present *laissez faire* social order, or free labor society, as he called it. In such a society unemployment, idleness, unfair wages, strikes, riots, exploitation of labor by capital, and the worst forms of want and vice are bound to prevail and persist. Such evils are, in his opinion, inseparable from the *laissez faire* or free labor system of society.⁵¹ He recognizes that those who favor the *laissez faire* system extol its supposed merits and claim for it advantages just the reverse of the evils he attributes to it. But he constantly insists that we must distinguish in society between theory and practice, between the ideal and the reality, between the intention and the obtention, as he puts it.⁵² In this connection he says, "An organization or system is not its intention, but its obtention; not its ideality, but its actuality; not its verballity, but its reality; not

its legislation, but its execution. But the obtention, the actuality, the reality, the execution of the Free-labor organization is not the existence of all, (whatever may be its intention). It does not actualize the subsistence of all. Its obtention for all is not a comfortable sufficiency of necessities for health and strength. This imperfection is not accidental; it is essential. In this form of society, the economic system, which is by necessity an organ of the existence of all, is private. It is not ordained and established. It is not municipal; it is not a public estate."⁵³

The type of social organization which he believes would produce the desirable minimum subsistence of all without question is one in which the simple-laborers, as described above, whether white or black, would be obligated to work a stated number of hours and days each year⁵⁴ for their employers or the capitalists, as he calls them, who would be in the place of magistrates⁵⁵ representing the state,⁵⁶ and would be obligated in turn to provide the minimum standard of living outlined above,⁵⁷ and as much more as the workers could and wished to earn by working over the prescribed time.⁵⁸ This system the author calls warranteeism.⁵⁹ He repeatedly denies that it is slavery, for a slave is one who is without rights.⁶⁰ Under this system, says the author, the simple-laborer has all the rights there are,⁶¹

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 181.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 143, 157 ff., 162, 166-8, 194, 196 ff., 204, 219, 281.

⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 211 ff., 238, 255-6, 266, 273-4, 277-8, 290.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 166-8, 193-200, 227, 233, 250, 256, 273.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 167, 200, 208-9, etc.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 157-8, 202-3.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 212 ff., 227 ff., 237 ff., 261 ff., 286 ff., 291.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 82-3, 106, 167, 208-9, 227, 291.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 229 ff.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 169-170.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 199-200, 233-234.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 144-5, 147, 181-3, 187, 195 ff., 290-1.

⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 49, 60, 109, 181, 261.

including civil rights,⁶² property rights,⁶³ and the right to a minimum subsistence, and more if he earns it, without himself taking any risk. His obligation is limited to a reasonable amount of labor. He is even protected from exploitation by commercialized vices under such a system, for it is the capitalist rather than the manual laborer who loses by this species of a commercialized exploitation in such a social order and it is to his interest to prevent this exploitation.⁶⁴

Whatever the reader may think of this system of supervised social organization and control, it must be admitted that the drift in some such direction in several European countries since the author's day has been more than merely recognizable. One may perhaps be tempted to apply to this theory the test that the author applied to the laissez faire system and say that it is not the theory but the practice of the system that counts. But, however that may be, we shall allow to the author the last word in describing his own system, to wit:

Warranteism actualizes the first end of society, and is progressive. It achieves the healthy existence of all. To this, three warranted or ordered systems are necessary. These are the Political, the Economic, and the Hygienic. . . .

In the economic system, production is orderly. Systematic quantitative adaptation of laborers and capital is warranted. . . . Laborers are adaptable. They are associated. They are regular. Economic irregularities are eliminated or accidental. Laborers never want work. If they do; provision for its supply is warranted. The laborer is appreciated. He is a material product. His aggregate and local production, and the values therefrom, are warranted. Strikes and idleness are eliminated. Capitalists can procure laborers; and laborers capitalists. Laborers are never out of employment. If there is no demand, they are circulated to the place of demand. They are

adscripts of capital. The productive department of the economic system is, in its essentials, perfect.

In the distribution of the warrantee economy, the distributor is the State or function of justice. Wages are warranted. Their quantity is essentially just. They continue for life, during both efficiency and inefficiency. Wages are variable, but these variations are never below the standard of comfortable sufficiency of necessities. Want is eliminated. There are no poor: all have competence.

In the department of consumption, consumables sufficient for the reproduction of all are warranted. Every laborer has a sufficient supply of consumables. There is neither consumptive nor unproductive waste. Consumption is associate and regular. Laborers are not consumed: they are preserved: they are treasured. The preservation is by preservation-interest, intelligence, and capital. Capital is supplied for the laborers' preservation. The capitalists' preservation-interest in the laborer is warranted. Capital and labor are syntonistic. A laborer does not divide his subsistence with wife and children. This is needless. The subsistence of all is warranted to all.

The hygienic system of warranteism is so methodized that hygienic necessities are warranted. Hygienic power and order are warranted. This system is both preventive and curative.⁶⁵

The second great primary end of society is progress.⁶⁶ Progress means the betterment of the individuals in society and of the social classes and of society as a whole. Everyone has the right to progress, and it is his duty to progress. It is the duty of society as a whole to progress.⁶⁷ Progress in our present free-labor social system is in the direction of a social justice which guarantees the subsistence of all.⁶⁸ "The economic system must be such that injustice in distribution shall be eliminated. This elimination must be total. It must be perfect. Wages must be perfectly just; rent and interest must be perfectly just; taxes must be perfectly just. This must be a systematic reality. It must not be intention; it must be obtention. In fact, nobody must be economically wronged.

⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. 197, 209, 218, 225-7, 230.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 230.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 111-12, 150, 220, 285.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 286-288.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 48, 178.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 124, 230 ff.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 158, 182-4.

An economic system must be such as to envelop economic wrong and develop economic right. This is the end of progress. When that is realized, progress is closed and perfect."⁶⁹ This sort of progress, according to the author, can come about only through the abandonment of the free-labor or laissez faire system for the warrantee or controlled labor system.⁷⁰ "The first progress of the Free-labor economy must be the obligation of all to labor. Systematic quantitative adaptation of laborers to capital is essential to the execution of this obligation; and capitalization of the obligations is essential to adaptation. The unshunnable progress of Free-labor systems must be, therefore, the capitalization of labor-obligations. This is the only means. It is the right of laborers; the warranty of their subsistence and their progress. Association by capitalization is their due; because the subsistence of all can be by no other method. It is a necessity to them; therefore justice to them."⁷¹

But progress does not cease with the attainment of a normal standard of living, or adequate subsistence for all, and of security for all, upon the transition from a free-labor society to a controlled-labor or warranted society. There is still room for progress within this latter type of society. Just as a sufficiency for all is to be financed by subsistence wages, so must the opportunity for self-improvement and advancement within the warrantee system be assured to all by the payment of progress wages.⁷² These are the wages to be paid for overtime work, after the warranted day is over.⁷³ The goods that may be purchased with these wages are those

items that were included above as most characteristic of the maximum efficiency standard of living—education, beauty, pleasure, recreation, moral instruction, religious experience and expression.⁷⁴

The author states twenty-nine laws of progress, which may be briefly summarized here: (1) It should be universal; (2) It is of either societary organization or societary organs; (3) Progress of the latter is either of power or of order; (4) All artificials not perfect ought to progress; (5) It is always of both old and new forms; (6) The motives of progress may be moral, religious, economic, political, hygienic, esthetic, or philosophical; (7) It is either by antagonism or by syntagonism; (8) It is the necessary alternative of regression; (9) It is either constructive or destructive; (10) The former should precede the latter; (11) The good must replace the bad; (12) Progress in incidentals must supplement progress in fundamentals; (13) Progress is creative; (14) It should proceed by experimentation; (15) But first in small things; (16) It must be logical; (17) Conception precedes realization; (18) Every progress has an excess; (19) This is unpopular; (20) It checks further progress; (21) It must have inner consistency; (22) It must be humane, (23) and just; (24) It is not necessarily inconsistent with conservatism; (25) Those outside progress may suggest its course; (26) Charity ought to begin at home; (27) Progress must be truthful, (28) and pure, (29) and orderly.⁷⁵ He might have insisted on another law, that progress must aim at perfection, for throughout his treatise he insists upon this requirement in all social planning and behavior.⁷⁶

Besides the two great primary ends of society—existence and progress—there are

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 196-7.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 201.

⁷² *Ibid.*, pp. 125, 203.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 157.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 199-200.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 69-75.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 109, 119, 121, 176 ff., 186, 291.

of course many derivative ends, which become means to the realization of the primary ends. Seven of these derivative ends are specified as particularly important organic ends of society,⁷⁷ for they are the essential ends of the seven social systems of which society as a whole is composed. We have already had occasion to refer to three of these social systems, which are concerned especially with the safeguarding of existence. We may now add the other four, which have been implied incidentally as the progress systems.⁷⁸ The societary organization consists of a union of these seven systems (three subsistence and four progress systems). Each system is the organ of its special or derivative end. Both systems and ends are enumerated below:

1. The economic system, whose organic end is the subsistence of all.
2. The political system, whose organic end is the security of all.
3. The hygienic system, whose organic end is the health of all.
4. The philosophic system, whose organic end is the education of all.
5. The esthetic system, whose organic end is the enjoyment of all.
6. The ethical system, whose organic end is the morality of all.
7. The religious system, whose organic end is the religion of all.⁷⁹

The author regards these seven systems as coördinate and independent, a sort of federation on the analogy of the states-rights principle.⁸⁰ Although dealing with the same people, each system may set up a government of its own, with its own executive, legislative and judiciary powers, and thus undertake to rule the conduct of the people.⁸¹ In which case their in-

dependence will be preserved and friction avoided by each system staying strictly within the limits of its functions and duties, which the author lists in considerable detail.⁸² Or some, like the religious and ethical systems,⁸³ may remain relatively independent, while other systems may assume dominance or dependence relationships and thus work coöperatively for specific purposes.⁸⁴ This last relationship is the only one which the author describes in practice and we may safely assume that his theory of mutually independent and self governing social systems within society was purely a prioristic. In his own theory he makes the economic system supreme in matters of production, while the political system is similarly directive in the matter of securing justice in distribution and backing up or enforcing the system of production. Even the hygienic system is not left to be self-enforcing, but enjoys the compulsory power of the State.⁸⁵ We are left in greater uncertainty as to how he regarded the organization of the esthetic and philosophical systems. The one seems not yet to have been organized in our society and it is quite clear that he is uncertain as to how far the state should go in providing education for all.⁸⁶

It is, of course, important to know what motives may be appealed to in order to induce the members of such a society as is here described to perform the functions assigned to them by the several systems acting independently or in conjunction. The author does not propose to build a society on force or compulsion, except in the most extreme cases of necessity. He seems to hold that the simple-laborers, or

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 48-49.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 58-59, 62.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 60-64.

⁸² *Ibid.*, pp. 64-69.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, pp. 62, 178.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 58-59.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 215 ff., 219 ff., 229, 264, 288, 290.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 177, 236, 249.

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manual laborers, must be compelled to labor for the good of society,⁸⁷ because they lack the intelligence sometimes to understand their own best interests.⁸⁸ But the skilled labor and employing groups may ordinarily be expected to recognize their own interests and to protect them and to do the thinking for the rest of society.⁸⁹ Capital, moreover, is naturally industrious from self-interest and does not normally require civil or external control to induce it to perform its proper function in society.⁹⁰

The normal control of behavior is through the desires and interests. The desires spring from a recognition of the interests. He says, "Desire and fear are the springs of human action. By ordering these, men are ordered. By these they are associated, adapted, and regulated."⁹¹ Again he says, "Human motives or springs of action are, (1), Desire of bettered condition; (2), Fear of worse condition; (3), Affections; and, (4), Duty. Duty is executed or enforced morally alone; or both morally and civilly. By combining these springs, all human action is obtained. . . . One motive may be the implement . . . the capital cause. The others may be supplements. They are then collateral causes. The fear of want or worse condition may be the implement of production. . . . Desire of bettered condition, and the affections, may be the supplemental motives."⁹² Desires, affections and duties are of course the preferable controls, because they are morally higher, and they are almost exclusively applied to the capitalist or employing class, while sometimes fear is used upon the manual

laborers. Its adequacy is unquestioned: "The fear of adequate punishment is a certain spring: it warrants action. It is universal, adaptable, and regular."⁹³ The general similarity of this theory of motivation to that of Lester F. Ward and to the theories of the Utilitarian philosophers will be evident to everyone.

Desires are based on the interests, and these correspond to the seven systems of society which are themselves based upon the seven fundamental interests of mankind. Desires are strivings for the realization of interests. They are motivations.⁹⁴ Sense of duty or moral desire is the first motive that should be applied, and each one should first be appealed to to discharge his obligations to society on this ground.⁹⁵ But, "if duty or moral desire is deficient, others in cumulation are necessary. . . . If moral desires are not sufficient; economic, hygienic, and political desires must be added. They must be put in syntagonism with good intention. Interest, enjoyment, expediency, knowledge and health must be supplements to the implement of civil goodness. In a society, the economic, political, esthetic, hygienic, religious, ethical and philosophic systems must be syntagonistic. Their organization must be such. Antagonism must be eliminated. The effect of civil goodness can by no other method be realized. This is an unavoidable method of progress."⁹⁶

Along with interests go rights, which serve as the criteria for the realization of the desires based on the interests. Hughes classifies these rights of man in a number of ways. One classification follows naturally from the classification of systems. He says, "Rights are societary. Socie-

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 196 ff., 204, 219, 281.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 87-8, 93, 173, 192, 265.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 265, 279, 282-3, 288.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 195, 281-2.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 90.

⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 262.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 143, 157, 162, 166 ff., 194, 271 ff., 289 ff.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 262-263.

tary rights are (1), Political, (2), Economic, (3), Esthetic, (4), Hygienic, (5), Philosophic, (6), Ethical, and (7), Religious. . . . The societary organization realizes them systematically or unsystematically."⁹⁷ Some of these rights, especially the philosophic, esthetic, moral and religious rights, may not be realized at all for some classes of people, because they have no systematic organization for that purpose, or the social systems in question apply inadequately to them; or, if such rights are realized for such classes, they may be so realized incidentally and incompletely.⁹⁸ Another classification of rights is into (1) Existence rights, including those of subsistence and security,⁹⁹ which we have already referred to, and (2) Progress rights, including presumably rights to economic power, including property rights, political action, hygienic well-being, and esthetic, religious, moral and educational advantages.¹⁰⁰ Rights are also classified as (1) Public and (2) Private.¹⁰¹ The private rights seem to belong to everybody, including even the manual laboring classes.¹⁰² Public or municipal rights are classified into (1) absolute and (2) relative rights. The former, or absolute rights, are personal security, personal liberty, and private property.¹⁰³ The relative rights are not discussed categorically, but they may be inferred from the text to be the luxury rights enumerated above, also political, economic, hygienic, legislative, and judicial rights, all of which are discussed at some point or other in the text.¹⁰⁴ Relative rights are relative to persons and classes, but mainly to

classes. Thus many of the rights of manual laborers, such as the right of action in law, to judicial redress, to property and subsistence, and especially the progress rights, are held only through their employers, the capitalists.¹⁰⁵ Elsewhere the author seems to contradict his classification of absolute and relative rights, for he says, "All rights, . . . whether natural or artificial (still another classification), are relative. They relate to the persons from whom, and the persons to whom, due. No rights, whether the gift of God or man, are absolute or irrelative: relators and relatees, or correlatives, are essential to a right."¹⁰⁶ However, "Existence and progress are ultimate rights. They are the final and supreme objects of social organization. They are its end and aim. All other rights are incidental. They are means. They are intermediate and conducive; implemental or constructive. Those rights are objective; these subjective; those effects, these causes."¹⁰⁷

Corresponding to these rights were, of course, a system of duties.¹⁰⁸ Some of these duties we have already discussed. There was the right and duty of all to labor.¹⁰⁹ There was also the duty of society to provide subsistence for all.¹¹⁰ It was equally the duty of the capitalist class to proportion this subsistence as the agent of the state.¹¹¹ There is likewise the duty of lawfulness and order. "Man is an orderly being. This is his animal and spiritual nature. Order is a moral duty. It is cardinal. Liberty is only freedom inside of necessary order. Men

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 177.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 177-178.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 173-227.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 173, 227, 230-236.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 181, 210.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, pp. 250 ff.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 181.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 235-255.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 235 ff.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 174.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 232.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 90, 124, 141, 143, 180, 184, 185 ff., 207 ff., 213, 236 ff., 242 ff.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 102, 165 ff.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 141, 143.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 166 ff., 193 ff., 227 ff., 233, 250 ff., 256, 273.

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therefore must be associative, adaptable and regular. They are born free and equal. But this is freedom to do not what they would, but what they ought; and equality not of power but of justice. . . . A man has not a right to use his mind and body as he will. Conscience and general reason are behind will. This is subordinate. Man must do what he ought. . . . The freedom of every man is therefore qualified by a duty. That duty is to use it as a social being ought. But a social being ought to use his labor socially, or for the existence or progress of all. He ought therefore to be orderly. . . . Men have not a right to form a society as they please. Their pleasure is qualified by justice and so by order."¹¹² Thus justice is the highest duty of all. There is also the duty of progress.¹¹³ The duties of capitalists or employers to their manual laborers are primarily economic, political, and hygienic, corresponding to the rights of the laborers to existence;¹¹⁴ and secondarily esthetic, educational, moral, and religious, corresponding to their rights to progress, in so far as these rights may be definitely determined.¹¹⁵ "No one has the right to violate the warrantee's (manual laborer's) progressive humanity, justice, truth, purity, orderliness or other moral duty."¹¹⁶ There are civic, moral, religious, esthetic, hygienic, educational, and economic duties corresponding to these rights, although such duties are not always elaborated in detail by the author. "Economic duties are those of, (1), production, (2), distribution, (3), exchange, and, (4), consumption."¹¹⁷ Within each of these categories are, of course, many

specific duties. To all of these duties may be added that of individual and social perfection, which is correlative with the duty of progress.¹¹⁸

Rights and duties imply relations. The author specifies seven fundamental relations of man: "He is related to, (1), himself, (2), the sexes, (3), kindred, (4), government or society, (5), races, (6), man, and, (7), God. These, his relations to human and superhuman beings. He is also related to subhuman animals. Justice is a moral duty. In all these relations, therefore, man must be just. The function of justice is the State; and these relations are, in substance, natural. For kindred, sex, society, and races, are all of nature: and rights naturally are peculiar to each."¹¹⁹ Taking up these relations more or less in the order in which they are here classified, first we allow the author to speak: "Persons are either, (1), natural, or, (2), artificial. Of natural persons, the relations are, in the same common law, either, (1), public, or, (2), private. By the law of England, private relations are those of, (1), master and servant, (2), husband and wife, (3), parent and child, (4), guardian and ward."¹²⁰ This is the law of free-labor commonwealths, but in the controlled labor or warrantee commonwealth which he proposes, the relation of master and servant would become wholly public and the other private relationships in a greater or less degree public. This transfer to public relations is the necessary consequence of the responsibility of the employer class for the welfare of the laboring classes.¹²¹

Speaking of public relations, these are "of magistrates and people. Magistrates are, (1), supreme, or, (2), subordinate.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 185-186.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 124.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 213.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 230 ff.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 235.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 213.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 109, 119, 121, 176, 186, 291.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 180.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 210.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 271, 289.

People are either, (1), aliens, or, (2), citizens. And in warrantee commonwealths, citizens are divided into four states or orders."¹²² These are, as we shall see later, capitalists, skilled laborers, unskilled or simple laborers, and laborers of the Negro race. Citizens are furthermore either sovereign (with power to elect their officers), super-sovereign (magistrates, including the capitalist class, who are de facto magistrates because of their responsibility for the maintenance of the common laborers), or sub-sovereign (the warranted classes).¹²³ The relations of the sexes are either lawful or unlawful. Marriage is lawful intercourse.¹²⁴ Amalgamation of the two races, white and black, is contrary to nature. "Hybridism is heinous. Impurity of races is against the law of nature. Mulattoes are monsters. The law of nature is the law of God."¹²⁵ The relations of kindred outside the family are not treated.

The author's theory of the relations within the working man's family seems to make the domestic relation secondary to the economic. Under warrantecism the children would be directly dependent upon the economic system, with the civic sanction, instead of upon the parents.¹²⁶ "In warrantee associations, the warrantor is, in the division of labor, the administrator of the association property," of which both the laborer and the capitalist or employer are owners, but of which the employer is the administrator. He continues, "Marriage, therefore, to realize either the administration of the wife's property; or the maintenance, education, and protection of the children, is in warrantecism

not necessary."¹²⁷ Again he says, "The father in nature is not also the father in art. Sons share their parents' affections, but not their parents' earnings. The filial and parental relations are not economic . . . for the warrantee association is an economic family. It is a component of the State."¹²⁸ On the other hand, "Warrantors have no power to separate families, except such separation is essential to the subsistence of all. And the power then is to be strictly construed, and the presumptions against warrantors. They have under no circumstances power to separate mothers and children under the age of ten years."¹²⁹ "Marriage," he says, "is both (1), a civil contract and (2), a religious union. . . . Of warrantees (manual laborers) therefore the marriage may be either a civil contract or a religious union, or both."¹³⁰

The preference is given to the republican or representative type of government,¹³¹ and all the author's plans regarding private and public relations are made specifically with this fact in mind. While he allots to the manual laborers, both white and black, a sub-sovereign condition, they are not, in his opinion, denied proper representation. "The right of political representation is not inconsistent with the sovereignty of the sovereign race."¹³² He disapproves of the mistreatment of lower animals and states that "warrantors have the power to punish cruelty to animals by omission or commission."¹³³ He holds that society itself is a product of the revealed law of God¹³⁴ and that the ethical

¹²² *Ibid.*, p. 210.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 237-239.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 241.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 239-240.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 160.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 257.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 155.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 220.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 256-257.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 237.

¹³² *Ibid.*, p. 244.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, p. 220.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

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system is derived from the religious.¹³⁵ The warrantee system, he thinks, is copied from the Hebrew Theocracy,¹³⁶ and that it is an institution of God¹³⁷ and blessed by God.¹³⁸

The more fundamental relationships in society conform to class distinctions. We have already referred to the political classifications of magistrates, citizens, and aliens; also of sovereigns, super-sovereigns, and sub-sovereigns, in respect to political rights. Economically people are classified, from the standpoint of production, as capitalists, skilled laborers, and simple laborers,¹³⁹ or as simple mentalists, manual-mentalists, and simple manualists.¹⁴⁰ From the standpoint of self-sufficiency people are classified as efficient and inefficient.¹⁴¹ "In free-labor commonwealths, the laity are divided into three states. These are, (1), the Civil, (2), the Military, and, (3), the Maritime. . . . But in warrantee commonwealths, the laity are divided into four states. These are, (1), the Political, (2), the Military, (3), the Maritime, and, (4), the Economic. The economic relation is not private; it is public."¹⁴² He makes little use of these final classifications.

As we have seen, he draws a distinct line between the white and black races. The two races must be kept entirely distinct. "Intermarriage of races must be unlawful. . . . Political amalgamation will initiate sexual amalgamation. . . . The sexual intercourse of two races in a State is . . . illegitimate. The societary organization must be such therefore as to eliminate this. . . . Caste is necessary.

For sexual intercourse follows social intercourse. In a society of two races, therefore, ethnical segregation is essential. . . . Caste of races is therefore a duty of morality."¹⁴³ While race purity is held to be imperative¹⁴⁴ (he could not have failed to note that there was no such thing as racial purity in the South under the social and economic system he was attempting to standardize), the Negroes must be nevertheless protected in their rights.¹⁴⁵ The proper relation between Negroes and whites seems to have been that the former should work for both and that the latter should think for both.¹⁴⁶ The sovereign or white people, it appears, are not all warrantors, or capitalists, but some are non-warrantors, or manual workers.¹⁴⁷ The status of the white worker under Hughes' system is not made very clear, but it seems to have been much the same politically as that of the capitalist class, so called.¹⁴⁸

Loyalty to class was one of Henry Hughes' important principles. "Everybody owes a duty to his class. Each laborer is bound to his classmates: there is, more or less, a class fellowship."¹⁴⁹ However, duty to class did not go so far in his thinking, as to wipe out all other duties. For example, "Every laborer works not only for himself, his family, and class; but for society."¹⁵⁰ Nevertheless, he speaks repeatedly of income as a class matter. The following may be taken as an example: "A class' share of the produce of society therefore must always and forever be, in the minimum, a comfortable sufficiency of necessities for

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 82-83.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 175.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 170.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 247.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 264, 275.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 140.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 208.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 242-243.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 240-3, 265, 288.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 266-70, 272, 284-5.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 265, 279, 282-3, 288.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 245-6.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 246-255.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 141.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

the health and strength of both the efficient, and the children, dotards, imbeciles, sick, and other inefficient." ¹⁵¹ One of the advantages urged for the controlled labor system is that it eliminates class conflict by harmonizing the interests of all three classes of producers. ¹⁵² Under the free-labor or *laissez faire* system, he says, "the rich and the poor conflict. Agrarianism is not eliminated." ¹⁵³ But, "rebellion in warrantee states . . . is never from economic causes. If at all; it is from religious or political influences. But these are not peculiar to warranteeism." ¹⁵⁴ Again, "Every country has its mob. The African people are the most manageable of all mobs. They are orderly from both instinct, habit, and tradition. In the division of societary labor, they are not fighters; they are workers." ¹⁵⁵

Hughes' theory of the division of labor is less technological than administrative. It follows the line of social classes and is prescribed by systems. He says, "Systems compose an organization; power and order, compose a system; orderly mind and orderly matter, compose power; association, adaptation, and regulation, compose order: in all order, is a supreme orderer: this is the sovereign of the system (the magistrate); and order is either free (unorganized) or sovereign: sovereign (organized or controlled) order is warranted order.

"Of adaptation, a fundamental law is that of the division of labor, or decomposition of power. By this law, a compound realization, act, effect, execution, or operation is decomposed. The power for these is then correspondingly decomposed or separated into its simple parts or

means; then a simple agent is associated or distributed to every simple act; a simple efficient, to every simple effect; a simple executive, to every simple execution; an operative, to every operation; a producer, to every product; an implement, to every object; a special organ, to every special end. This law governs all human power. It is nothing more than the principle of rational gregation. It is adapted association. It is the multiplication of production by the division of producers. Such division is essential to adaptation. If the power is divisible, and the end is compound, there cannot be perfect adaptation without perfect division. Perfection of this, is perfection of that. For realization, therefore, division is necessary, because adaptation is necessary. What is compound must be decomposed; and perfect special organs must realize special ends." ¹⁵⁶

The first application made of this principle of the division of labor is to the division of powers in governments. "Sovereign power is compound. It may be divided into parts. These are the legislative, the judicial, and the executive departments. . . . The component powers may be either consolidated into one, or divided into three or two departments. Division may be more or less; but if more, the adaptation is more; if less, less. This is division of the sovereign power of a system only. But systems compose an organization. The supreme power not of a single system, but of the whole societary organization, may be divided." ¹⁵⁷ We have already summarized his discussion of the division of labor of societary systems; also the theory of the division of economic functions into production, distribution, exchange, and consumption; and of economic classes into warrantors or orderers

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 148-149, 247.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 247-248.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 290.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 285.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 280.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 57-58.

(capitalist-managers), skilled laborers or artisans, and warrantees or orderers (manual laborers). The capitalist-managers order production, effect distribution and exchange, and supervise consumption; while the other two classes initiate and promote production.¹⁵⁸

Hughes' theory of population is relatively simple. He does not discuss the Malthusian principle directly. He is concerned with population primarily as a function of the labor supply. On this point he says, "A simple-laborer is a three-fold product. He is produced bodily, motively (in regard to motives to labor), and locally. Breeding is bodily production; circulation, local production. This, if to a distance, is migration. These three products constitute a simple-laborer's value. . . . If breeding is free; circulation ought to be free. . . . If it is not, they (laborers) do not get their three values. . . .¹⁵⁹ There ought never to be an excess of population."¹⁶⁰ In a free labor or laissez faire society this is unavoidable, with its consequence of unemployment¹⁶¹ or death from starvation,¹⁶² because such a society lacks a mechanism and a motive for the circulation of a local surplus of labor.¹⁶³ His solution for the problem of adapting the supply of laborers to the demand is simple. "For the adaptation of the quantity of laborers, two positive methods of decrease are death and circulation. Only circulation avoids death. Checks preventive of births are not essential and sufficient, if economic."¹⁶⁴ Circulation of the laborer is the only solution and only in the controlled labor sys-

tem, in which it is to the self-interest of the capitalist to secure the maximum of production and the minimum of unemployment, will this be adequately effected.¹⁶⁵

There are many other items of sociological theory that might be mentioned if there were space, but these are so slightly developed by the author that their omission from this paper will cause little inconvenience. As I review the work under consideration I am reminded of the fact that the author really covered only one branch of the subject of practical sociology, as he conceived it. His treatment of general or theoretical sociology was highly condensed and might easily have been expanded, by the elaboration of detail and the use of illustrations for greater clarity, into a sizable volume. It is regrettable that this was not done, for it would very clearly have established Henry Hughes' title to the claim of being the world's first systematic sociologist, if indeed he does not already deserve this characterization. If we substitute a modern terminology to cover the branches of sociological science which he envisioned,¹⁶⁶ we may properly conclude that he made a fairly successful attempt at the treatment of the Sociology of Economic Relations as they obtained in the south about 1850. He blocked out also six other sociological sciences, including those of Political Sociology, Social Ethics, and the Sociology of Religion, but did not attempt an extensive systematic treatment of any of these. He went farther in the direction of Political Sociology than any other, except the Sociology of Economic Relations. This was perhaps due as much to his training in law as to the nature of his interest.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 215 ff., 230 ff.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 102.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 103.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 108, 129-130.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 147.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 129-130.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 192.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 192-3, 271, 289.

¹⁶⁶ See L. L. Bernard (Ed.), *The Fields and Methods of Sociology*, Farrar and Rinehart, N. Y. 1934, Part I, Ch. I, for the modern divisions of sociology.

His work displays an extraordinary logical and organizing ability. He had a thorough grasp of his subject and his treatment of it hangs together consistently from beginning to end. Very seldom have I been able to discover in his presentation any slip or hiatus in his reasoning. It is true that there is much repetition, part of which seems to be due to a didactical motive and part to his strong desire to connect each new argument or exposition with what had gone before. He is much too condensed and laconic to be always interesting. Almost never is he discursive and there is a marked lack of illustrative material. His method is deductive and aprioristic rather than inductive and

historical. It is sometimes impossible to determine whether he is describing existing institutions in the South, or only conditions as he would have them be ideally. Undoubtedly he lived largely in a world of ideas, as the surviving anecdotes regarding him in his home town tend to show. But he was also a keen student of current affairs. The internal evidence of his work shows him to be widely read, but his total failure to cite his sources and authorities leaves wholly to conjecture what these were. It is greatly to be regretted that death at the age of thirty-three, in the midst of civil war, should have cut off from posterity the fruits of so fertile and powerful a brain.

THE LETTERS OF ALBION W. SMALL TO LESTER F. WARD: III*

EDITED BY BERNHARD J. STERN

Columbia University

Chicago, Ill. *September 8, 1896.*

I supposed I had your latest note before me, but I find that it is an earlier one of July 26th, and the other is in my desk at home. By this time at all events, you have seen the *September Journal*, and have been able to judge for yourself of the accuracy of the proof reader. I hope you will find it satisfactory and we will try to do the work in a business like way in the future. I think I told you our Press Department has been in complete disorder for various reasons, last of all, the serious illness of the Director. This latter may possibly prove to have been a blessing in disguise. At any rate we are hoping for

* The first installment of these letters appeared in *SOCIAL FORCES*, December, 1933, pp. 163-173; the second installment in March, 1935, pp. 323-340. It is hoped that the series can be completed at an early date.—*Editors.*

more system in the future. Your last article "The Mechanics of Society" is likely to make a great deal of stir. From the indications which I have discovered here, it will do much to resolve confusion of ideas into order. Ross is particularly pleased with it, and I predict a very favorable reception in other quarters from evidences which I get from conversation with some of my most advanced students. I return the letter of Worms. I already had in type a short notice of the second volume of the *Annals*. I should be very glad if you would review for the *Journal*, the book of which you speak,¹ and also the books to which Worms refers, which I will send you to keep if you want them. I am just now reminded of a note received a few days ago from Mr. James A. Skilton, a New York lawyer. He sends me a copy of the bill now before Congress for the founda-

tion of a Sociological Institution in Washington on the general plan of the Smithsonian, or rather to be in Social Science what the Smithsonian has been in Natural Science. Mr. Skilton read a paper before the Social Science section of the American Association at Buffalo last month on the desirability of such a foundation. He wants the paper to appear in our *Journal*. With considerable abbreviation I should be willing to publish it, if the scheme is all right, but I do not want to assist any wild-cat measures. If you can give me any pointers with reference to the matter I should be grateful.

¹ E. de Roberty, *L'Esthétique—Le Bien et le Mal; Essai sur la Morale Considérée Comme Sociologie Première* (Paris, 1896). The review appeared in the *American Journal of Sociology*. Vol. 2 (Nov. 1896) pp. 461-464.

Chicago, Ill. November 11, 1896.

I am pleased to catch you in a slip outside of your beaten track. I have no references at hand to show precisely when the name Genesis was first given to the "First Book of Moses." I presume that "the Seventy" were its authors, but that is only my original. The title *Beresith* may possibly have been later than the Septuagint. Luther evidently knew no other authoritative title than *Das Erste Buch Mose*. So that even the Vulgate was not understood to carry the work of the authors so far as titles are concerned.

I think you will want to change the phraseology a little on pp. 2a & 2b, to credit the word *Genesis* clearly to an editor, not to the author of the book, nor to any of the later revisers who helped get the documents into their present form. I am quite sure that the practice of using the initial words or word of a book as a title—as in the case of *Beresith* (in the beginning) came in with the Talmudists, and the Septuagint title Genesis is not a translation of *Beresith* but an alternative supposed

to be a clearer designation by "the Seventy."

I do not think it necessary to notice further the 2nd vol. of the French *Annals*, but shall be glad if you will say whatever you think proper about the other two vols.¹

¹ The review of these volumes which were René Worms *Organisme et Société* (Paris, 1896) and Paul de Lilienfeld *La Pathologie Sociale* (Paris, 1896) appeared in the *American Journal of Sociology* Vol. 3 (Sept. 1897), pp. 258-265.

Chicago, Ill. November 25, 1896.

I was just starting for Indianapolis when I wrote on Genesis and now have your other notes. The caption in the Vulgate is:—*Liber Genesis, hebraice Beresith*. *Beresith* is the first word in the book, and means "in the beginning." After I had written I asked Dr. Harper and a Jewish Rabbi how the names were given to the books. They said that the oldest custom known is that of naming them by the first word or words—just as in canon or civil law:—*Unam sanctam* or *Habeas corpus*. The "Seventy" gave descriptive names, which Jerome seems to have transferred to the Vulgate, although he translated most of the Old Testament directly from the Hebrew.

I am glad you are getting *Dynamic Sociology* ready for a new bow to the public. "All things come to him that waits" and I hope the proverb will be illustrated in the success of this new edition. If I am on record with anything which you would care to use, you are at liberty to do what you please with it.

I haven't a copy of Bascom's *Sociology* [New York, 1887] at hand and do not remember when it appeared. Perhaps it would be better not to know of its existence anyway, as it is simply a muddle of irresponsible opinions about matters and things in general. Then there is Carey's

Principles of Social Science [3 Vols. Philadelphia 1838-9]—by which he meant more nearly economics applied to practice than Sociology. I do not recall anything else in English. Possibly the term *Gesellschaftslehre* as used by Lorenz von Stein as the title for the second part of his *System der Staatswissenschaften* was a sufficiently close approach to the sociological conception to deserve mention.

I have at hand references also to the following:—

Buchez: *Traité de polis[itique] et de science sociale*, 2 vol. Paris 1866.

Barrier *Principes de sociologie*, 2 vol. Paris 1868.

Clément *Essai sur la science sociale*, 2 vol. Paris 1868.

Pérès *Philosophie de l'humaine société ou Coenologie*, Paris 1871-2.

LeBon: *L'homme et les sociétés*, 2 vols. Paris 1881.

LePlay: *La reforme sociale*, 4 vols. 6th ed. Paris 1878.

George Cornwall Lewis: *A treatise on the Method of Observation and Reasoning in Politics*, 2 vol. London 1852.

Quételet: *Sur l'homme et le développement de ses facultés, ou essai de physique sociale*, 2 vol. Paris 1835.

Quételet: *Du système social et des lois qui le régissent*, Paris 1848.

Quételet: *Lettres . . . sur la théorie des probabilités*, Brux[elles] 1846. (I keep stumbling upon the influence of Quételet, and I often wonder whether he did not anticipate some of the ideas that we usually credit to Comte.)

Neumann-Spallart: *Sociologie und Statistik* (a monograph originally published in the *Wiener Statist.[ische] Monatschrift* for 1878.

Mayr (G). [*Die*] *Gesetzmäßigkeit im Gesellschaftsleben*, [Munich] 1878. (Statistical rather than sociological philosophy & methodology.)

I have made not a little use of:—

Baerenbach, *Die Socialwissenschaften. Zur Orientierung in den socialwissenschaftlichen Schulen und Systemen der Gegenwart*, Leipzig 1882.

Its annex little describes its purpose, and it really contains nothing that is not commonplace now. Perhaps Mohl's [*Encyklopädie der*] *Socialwissenschaften* [2nd ed. Tübingen 1872] has even more Sociology, but I have not seen it for several years and have forgotten how far afield he goes. I do not think of anything else that you would care to consider.

I received lately your elegant monograph [*Some*] *Analogies [in the Lower Cretaceous of Europe and America (Washington, 1896)]*. I only wish I were wise enough to read it intelligently. I notice a typographical error on p. 463—next to cover—the second *a* is omitted in analogies.

I have annotated *Dyn. Soc.* so copiously that it would be impossible to pick out any corrections of typographical errors, if I have marked any. My impression is that they are unusually scarce.

Chicago, Ill. 1896.

The proof of the Preface [to the new addition of *Dynamic Sociology*] just reaches me. I will jot down suggestions just as they occur in the reading. Perhaps I shall have to change some of them after I have read the whole.

I am inclined to think that there should be rather pronounced mention of Littré, (Max. Paul Émile the lexicogr.), particularly his essays—*Conservation, revolution et positivisme* ([Paris] 1852), and the two works *Paroles de philosophie positive* ([Paris] 1859) & *Auguste Comte et la philosophie positive* ([Paris] 1863). I suspect that Littré did for a while much more than Comte's own writings to make Comte known to Frenchmen. He does not seem to have performed the same office outside

of France, but he has been a part and a large one of the movement toward recent French sociology.

I should say *yes* mention [Arthur] Fairbanks [*Introduction to Sociology*, New York 1896]. He has done a serious piece of work without a sign of inventiveness or originality, but it helps commend the study of S'y to students.

You have omitted Mayo-Smith *Statistics and Sociology*. He wouldn't know S'y if he should meet it naked in the street, but he has indirectly done the science some service—at all events on the Statistical side. I hardly think Buckle need be mentioned. I would sooner mention Prof. Robert Flint's [*History of the*] *Philosophy of History*, as enlarging our views and creating demand for sociology (1st ed. 1874, 2nd ed. 1893).

2nd line below long note "even then setting *in in* the direction &c—unfortunate collocation.

I have inserted the name of Bouglé (*Les sciences sociales en Allemagne*) in the margin Gal. 1.

9th line from bottom, "instigated" seems to me one of Whateley's "degrading metaphors." I should prefer a less sinister synonym—"instituted" or "set" in motion" &c &c.

End of first Paragraph. I would suggest that you change the paragraphing by running the last sentence on to the following par., perhaps making it read—"In *Psychic Factors* I have expressed &c." In spite of the quotation marks ending above I read the following paragraph through with surprise—supposing it was the language of the *translation*, until the reference to *Psy. Fac.* was given at the end.

The Preface as a whole is—as you said about a recent ethical paper—a whiff out of a freer atmosphere. It is also an important contribution to history. I hope the new edition will have a *vogue*.

But the phenomenal reluctance of the human mind to *think* impresses me more and more as I watch people devouring intellectual condiments and poisons, and refusing nutritives. Mr. Gladstone's musings upon immortality are of more consequence to the intelligent (?) public than demonstrations of the factors of life. On the whole, are the Russians behind us?

Chicago, Ill. March 3, 1897.

You will remember that I asked you some time ago if you would give two (2) courses, each six (6) hours per week for four weeks during the last half of our 1897 Summer Quarter. Our circular for the Summer Quarter should go to press Monday next. I still want you and hope you can give me a final answer now. I would suggest that one course should be entitled "Dynamic Sociology," for graduate students, and should be a series of discussions of the book, i.e. chiefly vol. II, with such outline or epitome of the form of lecture as you choose to give. My idea would be for you to allow the students to fire away at you, and for you to maintain yourself against them. You would have, I think, a number of ministers, and a lot of sociological instructors—such as Raymond of Madison, Wykoff, Herron's substitute at Grinnell, &c.

I have no preference about the parallel course except that it should be so arranged that men might take it without taking the other. However closely related they may be, there should be structural independence.

I have \$400.00 appropriated for the purpose. The courses would begin Thursday August 12 and end Wednesday Sept. 8. I should announce the hours as 8:30 to 9:30 and 11 to 12 or possibly the latter 2 to 3, unless you expressed a preference for some other time. Our schedule is—in Summer 7:30 to 10:30 divided into one-

hour periods, 10:30 to 11 reserved for general meetings of the different parts of the University, 11 to 1 in one hour periods, and 2 to 4 in one hour periods. The time from 4 to 6 is reserved for general lectures, of which we have an unusual number in the Summer Quarter. *Both* the courses which I suggest would be for graduates.

Please wire at my expense:—

1. Whether you can come.
2. Titles of courses if you can have them ready.
3. Your preference, if any, about hours.
4. Any other points which I ought to have before printing bare announcement of your name with titles of courses.

There are a number of things in which a report is due to you, and I have not forgotten them, but have not been able to keep up to date. The article which you forwarded—by Llano is still unread. It has been simply impossible to keep my head above the mass of work. I shall get to it soon. The *Journal* has more material in sight than it can use for months, but that will not prevent the substitution of *better* material when we can get it. Ross' article falls out this time because it did not reach me till the 23rd, and we expected to be out of press by that time. An accident after the forms were all locked up, except the *first*, will make us a week later instead of *earlier* than usual.

In your last note you suggested that I might have had enough of you. On the contrary I haven't fairly begun with you. The decks are not yet fully cleared for action. I hope you will fire some heavier volleys than ever in future numbers of the *Journal*.

Chicago, Ill. *March 8, 1897.*

Telegram and letter entirely satisfactory. We go over that ground—vid. Vincent's Syllabus, *J. of Sociol.* [Vol. 1] January '96, [pp. 473-491]—but you will

have different hearers, and if you did not the subject is not likely to be exhausted by one man. I would like to have you so arrange the work for the *students* that they will be obliged to accomplish a good stiff piece of study for themselves—to be proved either by examination, or by production of a paper, in each course, on a common topic, or on separate topics. I want them to work as hard as you do.

I have invited Giddings for the corresponding time in 1898—not because I believe in his method, but because I want to disarm any possible suspicion that I am afraid of it.

You will have noticed that Willcox has a notice of his book in the March *Philosophical Review*. [Vol. 6 (1897) pp. 182-86.]

Chicago, Ill. *March 22, 1897.*

I enclose letter. You have already received the books to which the letter probably refers. I have read this morning your review in *Science*. ["Professor Fontaine and Dr. Newberry on the Age of the Potomac Formation" N.S. Vol. 5 (March 12, 1897) pp. 411-423]. Such knowledge is too wonderful for me. It is high, I cannot attain unto it. Nevertheless I shall read it as a mental whetstone.

I have changed announcement of your *second* course—or *first*, if you please—to "Mechanics of Society." Have read your last article, and shall have something to say later, but must defer it till my present rush is over. The series have been a great success.

Chicago, Ill. *May 24, 1897.*

I am sorry for your sake to be obliged to repeat that I am right and Dr. Goodspeed is wrong. The stipulations are 6 hours per week for 4 weeks, in each of two parallel courses, and the appropriation is \$400.00. Dr. Goodspeed says that

he cannot account for the error in his records, but he referred at once to the President's notes and they are as above. For residence of six weeks the full appropriation is usually \$500.00, and Dr. G. had not been informed of the special arrangement in your case. He thinks he must simply have taken it for granted that you were to be here for the full term, and probably filled out his records on general principles without looking up exceptional details.

I have been so busy lately that I am hardly conscious of what is going on in the world. I sent you our Summer Annals recently. Do you remember a couple of French books that I sent you some time ago? I wish you could give me a notice of them—brief if necessary—for our July number. I shall want you to constitute some more "leaders" as soon as we get some accumulation of material worked off. Have just received *Dynamic Sociol.* and will have a notice of it in next number.¹

¹ The notice which appeared in the *American Journal of Sociology* Vol. 3 (July, 1897) pp. 110-11 read in part "Dynamic Sociology was a startling assertion that positivism is not necessarily indifferentism nor Manchesterism nor fatalism. The author's positivism so uncompromising that it was frequently construed as crass materialism. . . . It was not composed in a diplomatic spirit. It contained needless *obiter dicta* which distracted the attention and aroused the antagonism of cautious readers. It betrayed psychological and the logical opinions which caused many to throw the volumes aside in disgust. . . . few have found so much in the work that some of them at least believe it will find its level among the rare monuments of human thought. It certainly anticipated all the questions of any consequence that have been discussed by sociologists since its publication and so far as sociological contents are concerned the trend of opinion has steadily accredited Ward's prescience. . . . It is a serious reflection upon the quality of thought which has been given to social questions in this country that so few men have discovered Ward's *Dynamic Sociology* and still fewer have studied it. Men who are capable of following Ward's thought may deny that he has established his position, but

they can hardly refuse to admit that he has brought the psychic factors of civilization into definiteness, prominence, and correlation which had not been evident before he wrote."

Chicago, Ill. August 2, 1897.

. . . Your lectures are announced to begin at 8:30 Aug. 12. Among your hearers will be a Miss Croizer, who has already written to you quite freely I judge. She seems to be quite a Queen Bee among the Southern Women's Clubs, and I hope you will cultivate her for the sake of possible results through these organs.

You are announced for a public lecture on Aug. 30. This is one of the liberties our authorities take, without saying "if you please." All the strangers are treated alike in this respect. I believe Coulter has designs on you also.—By the way, I presume you know that Coulter's youngest daughter (about 15) was drowned at a pleasure resort about a month ago.

I leave on the 12 for 4 months in Europe, and am not sure that I can see you, even if you arrive on the 11. I hope everything will be pleasant during your stay. A dozen mishaps delayed the July *Journal* and we had to hold your review till the next number after all.

I believe I have not congratulated you on the Dr's degree. You didn't need it, so I don't feel that it amounts to as much as it does in many cases where men have to rely on such things for eminence. I am glad all the same that you have received it.

Chicago, Ill. December 29, 1897.

I have just reached home after an elegant outing. The *Journal* for Jan. is dumped upon me in confusion and I was obliged to order a proof of your article sent to you today when I had been told that everything had been passed and would go to

press this morning. Will you kindly return corrected proof as soon as possible?

It seems from all accounts that there should no longer be any doubt, even in your mind, about your qualifications for distinguished success in a University career.

Chicago, Ill. February 28, 1898.

The same old drive began the moment I got within sight of the harness, and is likely to hold its own until I can flee from the country again. As I want a favor of you I cannot very well dodge the neglected duty of recognizing your latest courtesies. If I had been within reach I surely should have vetoed the dedication of your book.¹ Not because it was not gratifying to me, because I can hardly imagine a compliment that would please me more. But I simply did not deserve it, and I don't like to get more than my due. Since greatness has been thrust upon me, I shall not for some time get over feeling as our worthy ex-president looked in the cartoons with his grandfather's hat. Nevertheless I shall be carried down to fame on a noble chariot, and that has given me another motive to give a good account of myself. I have asked Ross to review the book and I hope he will consent.²

The favor to which I referred is the loan of Roberty's *Ethique* which you reviewed in the Nov. '96 *Journal*. I supposed it was both in my own and the department library, but it is in neither. I have ordered it from Paris, but I need it before it can be here, and have no better recourse than to bother you. If you will help me out I will return the book soon and will be extremely grateful.

¹ The dedication of *Outlines of Sociology* reads: To Dr. Albion W. Small THE FIRST TO DRAW ATTENTION TO THE EDUCATIONAL VALUE OF MY SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY THE STANCH DEFENDER OF MY METHOD IN SOCIOLOGY

AND TO WHOM THE PRIOR APPEARANCE OF THESE CHAPTERS IS DUE THIS WORK IS GRATEFULLY DEDICATED.

² The Ross review appeared in the *American Journal of Sociology* Vol. 3 (May 1898), pp. 859-61.

Chicago, Ill. May 8, 1898.

Stuckenberg was at one time Prof. of Mental and Moral Phil. in Wittenberg College which I believe is in Ohio. Then he was for a dozen years or more pastor of the American Church in Berlin. At last accounts he was headquartering in Cambridge, Mass. I asked Prof. F. G. Peabody about him and he said he had never seen him. I believe he edits what are called the "Sociological Notes" in the *Analytical Review* (Funk & Wagnalls). A rumor reached me from a source that does not impress me as very reliable that he has gone to some college in Iowa. The book, [*Introduction to the Study of Sociology*, (New York 1898)] is not at hand as I write, but I believe its title page refers to other productions of his. I presume it may be said of them, or of this last appealing to them, as the Irish attorney said to the Judge:—"If your honor overrules this point, I have several more that are *equally conclusive*." This is all I know about him, except that he has managed to get the attention of a flock of ministers, through F. & W.

Chicago, Ill. November 10, 1898.

I get back at you for sending me one of your papers which you know I can't read, ["The Cretanous Formation of Southwestern Kansas" *Science*, N. S. Vol. 6 (Nov. 26, 1897) pp. 814-815], by mailing you one of mine which I know you won't think *worth* reading!

Just as soon as I can clear off a lot of promised stuff I want to get you into the *J. of Sociology* again. By this time you must be recharged with something that ought to be spoken out.

Chicago, Ill. July 16, 1899.

I was doing so much else that my note to Lindsay was a mere polo punch. Sometimes I am tempted to write an article on what would be left in certain peoples stock-in-trade if they were to give back to the owners what they are parading as their own without a very deceptive label. I was more concerned this time however with the main issue. I am inclined to think that Lindsay means all right and is a likely fellow. It is easy enough to see where he has been getting his pointers though, and he hasn't got them into focus yet.

As to Vaccaro, I meant to be appreciative on the whole,¹ but as I intimated, I did not discover that he had added to our stock of perceptions. He seems to me to have reasserted the need of using familiar tools, but the work that he does with them has mostly been done before,—by yourself for instance, as you say. I will go over him again and see if I can discover that his personal equation is more of a factor than it seemed to me at first reading.

At the present moment I am inclined to think that Ratzenhofer is the biggest find in Sociology for some time. (Vid. *J. of Sociol.* Jan. '99 p. 528-534. His *Wesen und Zweck der Politik* (1893) is in three vols. pp. 400, 363 & 481. The *Soc. Erkenntnis* ('98) is p. 372. As Schäffle intimates,² the style is difficult, even for a German. I am going through it very carefully with two of my classes, and intend to make an epitome of it that will save other people a good deal of brain splitting work on it. If my present impressions prove to be correct he has not so much made a new departure in sociology as he has carried out the idea which you expounded in *Outlines of Sociology*, i.e. he has attempted to organize what we know or think we know about the different orders of reality from Cosmology on into a report of the de-

veloping fact rather than of the sciences about the fact. A central idea is that which you made current in *Dynamic Sociology*. He puts it in this form. "Science is not completely *positive* until it is *purposeful*," and of course he finds the purpose of science, sociology included, and consequently the indicated purpose of the art of politics, to be the "common advantages of mankind." The clue to the sociologizing process he finds in "the increasing influence of collective utility over individual utility." &c &c. "Adaptation" again in *oratio variata*. I am struck by the fact that he seems to have worked within call of the best German knowledge of all the different orders of fact that he tries to draw on for information, instead of spinning a philosophy out of his own brain and then throwing out a dragnet to catch any flotsam and jetsam of science that may be pirated to his advantage. He thus seems to have given us a chance to see how the thing that we have been demanding looks when put together in the rough out of such materials as present knowledge furnishes.

¹ In his review of *Les Bases Sociologiques du Drost et de l'Etat* in *American Journal of Sociology*. Vol. 4 (July 1898), pp. 103-4.

² The review as by Schäffle.

Chicago, Ill. March 7, 1900.

I am relying on you for the review of Veblen.¹ I did not send the book promptly because you said you could not read it at once and the time passed faster than I was aware.

It is considerate and magnanimous of you, after sending me a couple of botanical monographs which make me feel like the most unmitigated ignoramus in the world, to sandwich in a stray sociological paper, which gives me a chance to take breath and venture to say my soul is my own. It strikes me that Tarde is learning some-

thing and if he could get rid of his foible of omniscience he would be as level headed as any body in the course of time. He is crawling in great style at present, but isn't man enough to acknowledge that his first contention was extremely crude. I think you treat him altogether too gently, and put him on a higher pedestal than belongs to him.² I have a brief note on his *Transformations du Pouvoir* in the *Journal* that will be out next Monday.³

I have just been rereading Ross' articles, [on "Social Control."] They impress me more and more. There are abundant *obiter dicta* that open his guard, but the main conception and his execution of it, place him with the most original thinkers in the whole realm of social science. It does me good to applaud a piece of genuine work. If I can't do that, the next most grateful experience of my life is to riddle a sham.

¹ Of this review of *The Theory of the Leisure Class* which appeared in the *American Journal of Sociology* Vol. V., (May 1900), pp. 829-837, Ward wrote: "... of all the reviews of books that I have written this is the best one from nearly every point of view." Veblen wrote him "Your unqualified approval has given me more pleasure than anything that has occurred in connection with the book." (Letter of April 29, 1900.) Gumpłowicz acknowledged the receipt of the review with enthusiasm: "Sie haben mir durch Übersendung Ihrer Besprechung Veblen's eine grosse Freude bereitet. Ich lese und lese wieder Ihre vortrefflichen Ausfungen. Sie sprechen mir aus der Seele wenn Sie sagen: If there is one thing that the world does not want it is truth. Bravo!" (Letter dated Graz, June 17, 1900.) See Bernhard J. Stern, (ed.). *The Letters of Gumpłowicz to Lester F. Ward*. Sociologus Supplement No. 1 (Leipzig 1933).

² Ward's review of *Tarde's Social Laws, An Outline of Sociology* (tr. by Howard C. Warren, New York, 1899) appeared in *Science*, N. S., Vol. IX (Feb. 16, 1900), pp. 260-263.

³ *American Journal of Sociology* (Vol. V., March 1900), pp. 699-702.

Chicago, Ill. April 12, 1900.

The review is all right! I merely omitted the single word *homeopathic*, be-

cause this is a storm centre just now and sensitiveness is at an abnormal tension. Otherwise the virility of the communication is not too strenuous for our purposes. As to the free advertising which I got on "capitalism," the papers quoted my precise language, so far as they quoted at all, but it was taken piece meal from a long discourse in which these allusions were entirely incidental, and the patchwork utterly misrepresented what those who heard the paper understood me to be talking about and to be saying about it. I have nothing to take back, but the newspapers as usual credited me with an entirely different performance from the actual one. I explained that I meant by the term "capitalism" not what would be its nearest approach to the technical economic term "capital," but old fashioned "cupidity" getting in its work all along the line from lowest paid employee to biggest operator under the special conditions of our capitalistic system. Yes, "rapacity" in the men who take advantage of openings in today's conditions just as "covetousness" has always done in some form or other. The argument was that ministers must know the old traits and their propensities in today's conditions.

As to Tarde, I think you are right that he is on the whole the best man in France, but that is not saying over much. The French sociological writers seem to me to have carried either scatteration or dogmatism to a pitch that is pitiful. Tarde has done some very valuable work but he has a dog-in-the-manger spirit about it that discounts it very heavily in my estimation. He isn't willing to give any body else credit for seeing anything and he has been literally mauled into his later corrections of his earlier crudenesses.

If Worms would consent to a publication of your "Social Mechanics" in our *Journal* at the same time that it is pub-

lished in France—or before—I should like it.¹

Besides that if you get hold of anything in the Congresses that ought to be reported before it gets to us by the regular channels I should like to have it, but the probabilities are that there will be too much to be condensed into our space.

I hope the two books will materialize as rapidly as possible.

P.S. By the way, I ought to add that I have just received Folkmar's (formerly Fulcomer) book *Leçons d'Anthropologie Philosophique*. It may be that you will come across him, or at least his reputation, in France. The facts are that he was at Harvard a year after taking his bachelor's degree in some small college. Then he went to Clark for a year, and they satisfied themselves that he was a paranoiac, and they froze him out. He was President of two institutions in Michigan, which collapsed under his administration. In one of them he figured in prospectuses that came to me several years afterwards as also "Professor of *Pantology*." He came to us with an account of himself that impressed me as very promising, and for a year all thought he was decidedly inflated in his notions, but would lick into shape and would accomplish something. He had done an enormous amount of reading and we allowed him to announce an Extension course, but it was never given. He appeared in our printing however as a "lecturer in Sociology," and he has rung the changes on that for advertising purposes ever since. I also put him in charge of an undergraduate course at the Univ. one Summer Quarter. He was to follow certain prescribed lines, and it was to be a test of his stuff. It turned out to be an eye-opener. He unloaded on his class the most miscellaneous mess of heterogeneity that I had ever run up against. Soon after that I had to tell him that I had lost all

confidence in his mental processes. He insisted on taking the Dr's examination however, with Sociology as principal subject and psychology & pedagogy as secondary. He made a most pitiable failure, but he frankly informed me that the explanation was that the Com. (of which I was Chairman) didn't know enough about the subject to appreciate the full value of his answers. He demanded another examination. It was given in the course of the next year, with the largest Com. that ever considered such a case here—the full force of the depts. concerned, with several others, one or two not members of the Univ. at all. Without a sign of disagreement the Com. unanimously pronounced the man all at sea, both in his knowledge and in his mental processes. It was not until after our report on the first exam that I learned of the conclusions of the Clark faculty.

Meanwhile Fulcomer had somehow got appointed Prof. of Psychology at the Milwaukee State Normal School—apparently they took him at his own appraisal; I have never been able to discover that any former instructors were consulted. I am not informed about the details of his history then, but several of the members of the faculty at once began to inquire about his standing with us, and to express their wonder at his appointment. A rumor only has come to us that he was forced to resign. At all events he wrote to me that a friend had produced the funds to send himself and wife to Europe for five years. His wife is in my judgment much more responsible and educated than he, but she seems to believe thoroughly in him. He has somehow obtained the degree "Docteur en Sciences Sociales" from the "De Greef University" of Brussels, and he now advertises himself as "Professor of Anthropology" there. His book would probably be called visionary by the casual

reader, but no one would be likely to read it patiently enough to go much beyond that in diagnosis. The fact is, however, that he utterly breaks down when pressed to put any definite contact into the universe embracing forms that he outlines. His difficulty seems to be that he is unable at any single point to hold himself to close work. I was imposed upon by his schematic ability, but he flies off at a tangent whenever he is called upon to begin somewhere and do something specific.

It will perhaps put you on your guard to know these things. I have no doubt Folkmar will find you out in Paris, and he will make the most of any opportunity to use you. He wants an appointment in the University of Chicago, but if that is not available at once, and Harvard and Yale are also temporarily unappreciative, he would consent to bide his time in some other high grade American institution. It would not at all surprise me if he got a place somewhere. There are plenty of people to say that he is no crazier than all the rest of the sociologists, and for that reason we have all the more need to watch out for such men.

¹The article delivered as an address before the Fourth Congress of the International Institute of Sociology in Paris Sept. 25, 1900 appeared as "La Mécanique Sociale" in the *Annales de l'Institut de Sociologie*, (Paris, 1901), Vol. 7, pp. 163-203.

Les Cheneaux Club, via Mackinack Island,
Mich. August 22, 1900.

Your note of the 5th just reached me at this spot in Lake Huron, 500 miles N.E. of Chicago. I have written by same mail with this, thanking Dr. Worms for the invitation, [to become a member of the Institute] and accepting the nomination. I remember that there is an entrance fee, but we are a day's journey from a money order P.O. and I shall have to wait till I return to Chicago in three weeks, before

remitting. I have explained this in my note, but I haven't Worms' precise address, and possibly the note will go astray. If this finds you still in Paris it would be a favor to me if you would write the facts to Dr. Worms.

I am most troubled about Ross. I presume he has given you the facts about Mrs. Stanford's fool conduct toward him.¹ He is too much of a man to be long side-tracked, but I am afraid he may be clogged for a time. I have put all the State Univ. Presidents in the Miss valley on his track and wish he might be snapped up by one of them. I am not without hope that the wrong-headed old lady may be brought to her senses after all. I have written to Jordan in a vein which is intended for her eyes, expressing astonishment at the rumor that Prof. Ross is to leave Stanford, and enlarging on his reputation among sociologists, and the loss of prestige which the University will incur if he is allowed to go. It seems to me that it might be well for you to do a similar thing. Mrs. S. needs to be convinced that Ross is held in high respect by people at a distance, and that her institution would suffer severely in reputation if he were to go. If you have found in Paris, as I did in Berlin, that people have been impressed by his articles on Social Control, it would be well to enlarge that fact.

I hope you will succeed in finding more substance among the French sociologists than I am able to discover. They seem to me rather dilettantish though Tarde's latest work, and Durkheim's too, give reason to hope that sound disreccion will some day get the better of boyish-play-science. I am anxious to learn more about the lines on which you are going to work when you settle down to sociological writing again.

¹ On October 14, 1900, Ross wrote to Ward: . . . "Now as to that 'sinister rumor.'" After due deliberation I thought it best not to worry you with it

while yet there was a chance that it would come to nothing. I certainly did not intend that you, who have the best claim on my confidences, should hear of it from others. I have told affairs to only two men and with injunctions to strict secrecy. Small because I wanted work for next summer, and Ely because I wanted him to press my book with Macmillan's for early publication. Small at my request sounded two or three State University Presidents.

The basis of the rumor is as follows. Last May at Dr. Jordan's suggestion I presented at a meeting in S. F. a paper giving a "Scholar's View" of coolie immigration. It was a meeting under the auspices of organized labor to protest against the heavy Jap immigration and to call for the renewal of Chinese Exclusion which expires in 1902. My paper was sober but it enraged Mrs. Stanford who was always pro-Chinese and the big capitalists who want cheap Oriental labor. She wanted to dismiss me instantly but Dr. Jordan who approved of everything I have done got me reappointed for this year. He is now making a last effort to overcome her opposition. If he fails I shall leave here on Jan. 1 on leave of absence with pay for the rest of the year. I shall in that case publish the facts about Nov. 10. Please keep as quiet as the grave about it for I don't want anything about it to come out before election. A const. amendment is to be voted confirming the Stanford grant and giving the legislature the right to exempt University property from taxation. If this case of mine leaks out it will kill the amendment and thus indirectly shake the legal foundations of the University. Moreover my case would be injured by receiving a political taint.

Dr. Jordan is very sad. He has, as he told me yesterday, "played all his trumps." In a few days he ought to hear from Mrs. S. who is now in Germany. I have no expectation of success. I am serene. Have already had an offer from one of the strong State Universities. If I go it will at least call attention to the encroachments of wealth upon the freedom of teachers."

Dr. Jordan soon deserted Ross and supported Mrs. Stanford's action. For the dramatic story of his ousting from Stanford see Ross's autobiography, *Seventy Years of It* (New York 1936) pp. 64-86.

Chicago, Ill. November 12, 1900.

Your familiar handwriting on another volume which seems particularly adapted to the function of demonstrating to myself my utter ignorance and insignificance, leads me to infer that you are once more on your native soil. I have placed the vol-

ume in a conspicuous place in what I call the penitential department of my library. When I want the discipline of effective humiliation I consult it, and have no need of ice on my head for some time afterwards.

I hope you return with enough sociology brewing to make you return to your old love with the old energy—I hope you will not undertake to unmix the figures in that remark as its intention is too serious to be spoiled by rhetorical criticism. The sociological interest and the size of the really sociological public are both on the increase in this country. At the same time we are unloading rapidly the people who want a sort of sociological Christian science, but have no brains for sociology. The remnant will make headway in elucidating the social situation in all its phases.

Giddings has an interesting article on "Modern Sociology" in the *International Monthly* for Nov. 1900, [Vol. 2 pp. 536-554]. It seems to me that he unnecessarily robs Peter to pay Paul, in his comparison of Comte and Spencer. He comes out flat-footed in his appreciation of you.¹ He has seemed to me in the past not quite willing to acknowledge as much. His statement of his own fundamental position on the *consciousness of kind* hypothesis is clearer than I have known him to make before, but it seems to me to expose its uselessness at the same time. So far as I can see it is merely a *reiteration* of the commonplace that *like causes under like conditions produce like effects*. . . .

Ross seems not to have conquered the difficulty at Stanford. I hope to make an engagement for him here for the Summer Quarter, and have several lines out that may be useful about getting him permanently placed. Am sorry his book cannot appear at once.

¹ Giddings here declared that Ward's "ability, originality, and varied accomplishments place him in rank with Spencer and Tarde."

Chicago, Ill. November 24, 1900.

This is merely to say that if Miss Sarah E. Simon's thesis is as good as you say, we will publish it, although it may have to wait some little time.¹ We have quite a mountain of MS ahead.

I have about decided to devote the months of Jan. Feb. and March to a tour of the Pacific and the Gulf States,—visiting colleges chiefly. If I am alive at the end of the trip I may get a moment to call on you, as I have a lecture date in Richmond.

Groppali seemed to me rather choice. I can't understand how he managed to pounce on Sherwood! If there is any thing that the latter is deliciously ignorant of, it is the A.B.C. of Sociology, and it is rich to find a foreigner treating him seriously as an index of our progress in that line. It reminded me of a German whom I overheard at a hotel table in Rome enlightening a group of his countrymen about his observations in America. He said, "The Americans have no taste, no culture, no art, no science, no literature. They have only one poet and they have driven him out of the country. His name is Mark Twain!"

I haven't caught on to Winiarsky but will get after him soon.

I wrote to Andrews some time ago about Ross, and he would be glad to get him, but says his Regents are not yet up to the establishment of a chair of Sociology. The case is going to give the Dowager of Palo Alto a pair of hot ears for a while at least if she reads the newspapers.

¹ The series of five successive articles on "Social Assimilation" appeared in the *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 6 (May 1901), pp. 790-822; Vol. 7 (July, Sept., Nov. 1901. Jan. 1902), pp. 53-74, 234-248, 386-404, 539-556.

Chicago, Ill. December 31, 1900.

I am just leaving town, to be gone three months, and therefore cannot offer to read Miss Simon's manuscript. Moreover, we

cannot tell at this distance how soon we could be free to offer space for anything more than we have now accepted.

On account of my trip, I was unable to go to Detroit, and so missed seeing Ross. Unless there is some other disposition to be made of the thesis it might be sent on to my colleague, Dr. C. R. Henderson, and perhaps he, with the other members of the staff, would pass upon it during my absence. In that event the divisions should be plainly indicated by the author, if they are not marked by chapter divisions in the present form.

I wish I might be present at the first important sociological event of the twentieth century,¹ but if I am a little late, I hope to get the benefit of it soon. I wish you not only a Happy New Year on general principles, but strength to your brain and your elbow to make the *Pure Sociology* the best, but not the last work of your life.

¹ On New Year's day Ward invited guests representing diverse philosophies to his home to discuss his plans for *Pure Sociology*. Among those present were J. W. Powell, David Jayne Hill, William T. Harris, Carroll D. Wright, Frank Baker, and W. F. Willoughby.

Chicago, Ill. April 20, 1901.

I have mislaid the street address of Miss Simons, and venture to bother you with the proof. Will you kindly forward this in enclosed envelope? One copy may be retained and the Ms. also. We would like to have the corrected proof as soon as possible.

I wish I could use the lecture tickets, though I fancy I can form a pretty definite notion of what the "true immortality" will turn out to be. If it is anything different from the always-with-us-ness of Plato and Jesus and Galileo and Newton and Goethe and Emerson and Darwin I would like long distance telephone connection. I hope the new book is coming on.

FEDERAL-STATE RELATIONS IN PLANNING*

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I

IN MR. HOOVER'S book, *The Challenge to Liberty*, he remarks that there have run through all the dissertations of the past month the slogans of "National Planning," "Planned Economy" or "Permanent Planning." These phrases, the ex-President says, do not mean mere charts and blue prints. They mean execution as well. Execution of plans means regimentation and all this amounts to a "loss of liberty." The distinguished gentleman fears lest plans spring from the blue prints full panoplied to reform the world. What he distrusts in particular is that implemented planning seen in the now deceased NRA and AAA. These fears, however, were groundless. The guardian of the great plan of government stopped the execution of a program for the control of industrial and agricultural economy and sent the economic planners back to their charts and blue prints to design new schemes consistent with the nation's supreme plan, the Federal Constitution.

While planning enthusiasts may look forward to seeing their charts vitalized, the concept is certainly to be distinguished from the administrative function of carrying out the program. In fact anyone who takes time to read the voluminous reports of the National Resources Committee and the State planning boards will find recurring consistently such harmless phrases

* The facts used in preparation of this paper are based largely upon the following reports: National Resources Board, Dec. 1, 1934; National Resources Board, "State Planning"—June 1935; National Resources Committee, "Regional Factors in National Planning," Dec. 1935; Virginia State Planning Board's Reports, Vols. I-III, VI.

as planning is an advisory not an administrative activity; it is a general staff function *gathering and analysing facts, observing the working out of policies, and suggesting from time to time alternative procedures.* From the planning staff there is, therefore, a *flow* of information and recommendations to the political branches of the government where politics, the art of government, formulates and expresses the policy which later is executed by administration. Another interesting idea is that planning is the technical tool of democracy. In other words, planning is the use of the "technical and scientific skills coupled with imagination" to determine and influence trends which can be helpful in providing higher standards of living and greater security for the people. These descriptive terms are mild enough. But note the following definitions which are disturbing to the status quo: "Planning is inventory, but it means also suggestion of a *new design* for the better use of human and natural resources. . . . Planning boards are concerned not only with *what is*, but with *how far*, and in what direction *changes* are possible.

The concept, planning, therefore, stirs mixed emotions. Propagandists from the right say it is motivated from Moscow. It is probably this concerted attack from the right that has perverted the entire idea and led Secretary Wallace in his address before the Academy of Political Science, January of this year (1936), to remark: "In 1933 it was possible for a group of social scientists to be detached and to talk about planning without fear of offense; but since that time the word has become a hissing and a by-word."

II

Well, what of it? Mr. Hoover says, in effect. It is nothing new. We have had planning since the days of George Washington. It is quite true that there has been a considerable amount of single view departmental planning; there have been functional planning and jurisdictional planning; and there has been a great deal of business planning. The condition of the land, the timber, oil and mineral resources in many localities show the result of short-sighted planning of those agriculturists and business interests that planned, as the National Resources Board say, with their "eye on personal wealth rather than on the commonwealth."

Some of the best intelligence of the country has gone into business planning. Yet recurring economic crises are no recommendation for this single view planning motivated by the strong urge of private profits and supported by the classic doctrine of *laissez-faire*. Still there are gentlemen—and I have heard a few scholars say: "Turn the government over to the American Manufacturers Association and the chambers of commerce; they will lay plans that will put the country on its feet."

It is perfectly well to enlist brains in business planning, but it is a different thing when the government drafts social scientists in a broad program for the public welfare. As a former president of the United States Chamber of Commerce once said: "The best public servant is the worst one. A thoroughly first-rate man in the public service is corrosive. He eats holes in our liberties." If the bespectacled academician sticks close to his musty parchments it is bad enough; but when it comes to translating the plan into action that is worse; and if as a result of all this the government should do something, like

the TVA, for example, why, that is the worst thing imaginable—that is socialism.

There have been abundant plans like these, departmental, functional, jurisdictional, and business planning, but as the National Resources Board says: there has been little general, coordinated, *over-all* planning by social and natural scientists for the purpose of conserving the human and economic resources. As the Board continues: "The weakness of our American planning in the past has been the failure to bring the various plans and planners, public and private, into some form of concert with one another, to develop public interest planning in concert with planning in the private interest. . . . Much of the unbalance, insecurity, and suffering the country has experienced might be avoided by a more perfect coordination of the knowledge we already possess."

An impetus to the kind of planning described by the National Resources Board was given by President Hoover's Commission on Social Trends which reported in 1932 "That the type of planning now most urgently required is neither economic planning alone, nor governmental alone. The new synthesis must include the scientific, the educational, as well as the economic and the governmental. All these factors are inextricably intertwined in modern life and it is impossible to make rapid progress under present conditions without drawing them all together."

A year later (1933) under authority of the NIRA, the National Planning Board was appointed. This board's report covered such topics as the rôle of the natural and the social sciences in national planning and an analysis of existing planning agencies in several governments. There grew out of this report the National Resources Board (now the National Resources Committee) which was created by an executive order, June 30, 1934. Five

months after its appointment the Board made a voluminous report covering several subjects as (1) general findings and recommendations, (2) land planning, (3) water planning, (4) mineral policy, and (5) surveys and maps. In its letter of transmittal to the President, the Board makes the significant statement. "This report is the first attempt in our history to make an inventory of our national assets and of the problems related thereto. For the first time it draws together the foresight of the various planning agencies of the Federal Government and suggests a method for future cooperation."

III

In December, 1933, the National Planning Board sent circular letters to each of the governors of States calling their attention to the opportunities and the desirability of Federal-State cooperation in this new undertaking. The smart federal trick that has become familiar in the subsidy system was seen in this overture to the governors. That is, they were promised expert consultants provided the State met certain conditions.¹ The Board hoped to receive a favorable response in eight or ten States. In a short time their hopes were more than gratified when forty-six States set up State planning boards under consultants assigned them by the National Board.

The consultant is the liaison officer between Federal-State planning agencies.

¹ These were: (1) appointment by the governor of a State planning board including four department heads and three citizens; (2) assurance by governor that he will sponsor legislation to put board on a continuing basis; (3) assignment from state offices of drafting and stenographic help; (4) development of a planning program; (5) statement of the governor's willingness to appoint the planner or chairman of State planning board as States' representative on a regional or interstate planning committee, if such committee is organized.

He is described by the National Planning Board as "an ambassador of planning between the two jurisdictions." Outside of the requirement of full periodic reports to Washington and an occasional circular letter offering suggestions, the State consultants have been left to adapt themselves to their environment.

The consultant, the State planning board, and their staff of committees and technical assistants have made considerable progress, if the size of their reports is a fair criterion. A compilation of these reports by the National Resource Board shows the following topics are of general interest in planning: population studies, land use, public works, water planning, and transportation. The National Board believes that the most significant achievements of State planning boards are: (1) "experiments in interstate planning, (2) their coordinating activities within the State governments, (3) the effective working relationships which they have established with local governments and local planning commissions, and (4) assistance in bringing about an active co-working of Federal-State agencies."

A good view of Federal-State planning relations is seen in the following quotation from the New York planning board:

A plan for the development of the resources of a State should be coordinated with a larger regional or national plan. This presupposes the existence of a national authority (such as the National Resources Board) that will determine land policies, and sketch the outlines of a national resources plan. There should be a broad framework of national planning to insure wise State planning.

Broad national policies in relation to the use and conservation of all national resources would give direction to the planning of the State's resources. National planning would show in a broad way the Nation's requirements in relation to land use, for timber production, for watershed protection, and for recreation. It should formulate general policies in relation to the use of submarginal farming land, and in relation to the gradual relocation of families living

on such lands, or elsewhere permanently stranded without prospect of occupational opportunity. It should formulate the basis and lay down the main lines of a coordinated national transportation system. It should prepare a long-term program of public works.

National resources planning will in turn be given form and reality by proceeding in close correlation with State planning. In other words, national and State planning need to be carried on concomitantly. They are really parts of a single process.

Federal-State relations in planning have been peaceful. There have not been any unseemly quarrels about the national power invading States' rights. It may be that planning has introduced a new era in Federal-State affairs—the era of cooperation. This theme runs through the reports of State planning boards. Oregon reports joint Federal-State planning in interstate highway construction; Kentucky comments on coöperative studies by the Kentucky Agricultural Experiment Station of the United States Bureau of Agricultural Economics; Connecticut is coöperating with the United States Government in making a survey of rural population; Florida desires Federal-State coöperation in water control. Other States report similar examples of Federal-State action.

It is interesting to see that many State planning boards admit there are problems beyond effective State control. Transportation, for example, is recognized as a national problem by several State boards. The Kentucky report deserves quoting: "The broad-gage pattern of a transportation system which would be balanced with transportation demand should be appropriately developed by a national agency: within the framework of a basic national pattern, the State could be expected to fill in the details harmoniously and intelligently." The Pennsylvania board believes that pipe lines are parts of an interstate system; Washington State suggests that flood control is a problem

for inter-governmental action. New York believes that the Federal Government should take over the subject of pollution of interstate streams.

IV

At this point I should like to raise the question of the adequacy of the State as a planning unit. From the list of achievements of State planning boards just listed all except one have to do with planning coöperation among governments of different levels. Is there need for State planning boards to do departmental planning on one government level? There certainly must be a great deal of planning in the great State departments as education, health, public welfare, highways, and finance. The report from California shows that the departments of State government question the need of a new planning agency. In Connecticut Governor Cross advised planning boards not to concern themselves in State building programs since that was the responsibility of the State Board of Finance and Control. And in a circular letter, March 23, 1934, the executive officer of the National Planning Board cautioned State consultants that the State planning board was not "to intrude upon the functions of existing State departments, but was to coördinate and harmonize the work of many public bodies."

There seems, therefore, to be a difference of opinion as to the need of a State agency to duplicate the planning now being done by existing departments and commissions. But the planning board as we have just seen is not to intrude on the work of these departments. Its work is that of the clearing-house, the coördinator, the harmonizer. These, however, are desirable purposes, and the tactful approach of these boards to the problems of inter-governmental relations may result in their

becoming a permanent fixture among the agencies of State government.

It is in the broad aspects of functional planning that the State is found inadequate. In this field of program making the State's effectiveness is limited by constitutional, competitive, and areal reasons.

There is, of course, no reason in planning if constitutional limitations make hopeless the execution of the plan. It is quite true that in the *Schechter* case the Supreme Court said that NRA was "over riding the authority of States to deal with domestic problems."² And in the AAA case³ the Court held that the restriction on production of agricultural products is entirely within the States' control. It is highly improbable, however, that State experiments in these fields of planned regulation would get by the Fourteenth Amendment, or by the contract clause in the Federal Constitution.

In addition to the constitutional there are the competitive risks which any State must run that should try, for example, to carry out a plan of crop control, or water control, or control of human resources. We have seen cotton and tobacco control plans fail for this reason. Then there is the recent example of a bill to limit the hours of labor of women in industrial work which was killed by the Virginia Senate because, as one gentleman expressed it, an eight hour law would drive Virginia industries into North Carolina where they can work women nine and ten hours a day.

Still more important than either of these two handicaps to implemented State planning is the areal, that is, planning problems do not coincide with political boundaries. In certain parts of the country State boundaries may have an historic

significance; in others they were laid out by the surveyor's chain. In no part of the country were they laid out with any regard to economic, social, or physical planning. As shown in State planning reports there are super-state problems as those related to water resources, crop production, land use, industrial location, labor conditions and transportation, that can be planned only on a national or at least on a regional basis.

If a State is limited by spatial, by competitive risks, and by constitutional reasons in executing a plan for economic control, and when the Supreme Court prohibits national control, the result is to create a zone of anarchy where exploitation of natural resources and of labor can proceed free from the government's interference. I feel quite strongly that the emphasis now being placed upon States' rights comes largely from those who would maintain an area free from what they describe as governmental regimentation in order that they may do to others what they would not have the government do to them.

V

But since the constitutional aspects of this problem are beyond the scope of this paper let us turn to the possibilities of regional planning. As stated by the National Resources Committee: "The lesson would seem to be that we have to devise means for facilitating the coöperation of different governmental units, each possessing some necessary portion of constitutional authority required for the solution of a given problem."

Regionalism is not new. We see evidences of it on every hand. The Federal departments use regions for convenience in administering their functions. At present seventy-two Federal agencies have established 106 regional areas which in a

² *Schechter v. United States*. 55 Supreme Court 837 (1935).

³ *United States v. Butler*. Sup. Ct. Res. Supplement, Vol. 80, No. 5.

majority of cases disregard State lines.⁴ Another example of regionalism is the interstate coöperation movement which has received considerable impetus by the American Legislator's Association, and by the Council of State Governments. At one of these recent regional meetings of State attorneys-general one of the speakers combined so clearly new ideas with an old idea settled decisively in 1865 that I cannot refrain from quoting him, in part:

Each of the States represented at this meeting has enacted one or more uniform laws dealing with problems of State government, thus effectuating cooperation among the States without impairing State sovereignty. Each of these States has enacted reciprocal legislation which facilitates interstate cooperation without impairing State sovereignty. Each has entered into interstate agreements which simplify intercommunication without impairing State sovereignty. Finally, each of these States is a party to interstate compacts, and most of them are negotiating more compacts. These compacts protect the interests of both the State and Federal Governments and constitute the highest form of cooperation.

The National Resources Board has attempted to meet the interstate problems of State planning boards by grouping the States into eleven planning districts. In each district there is a chairman who by personal conferences with the separate State boards and State consultants has endeavored to get coöperation among the district planning boards.

In two districts formal regional planning commissions have grown out of the work of the district chairmen. These are the New England and the Pacific Northwest Commissions. A chairman and a consultant are assigned to each commission by the National Resources Committee. The purpose of a regional commission is to facilitate collaborative

planning by States in a problem area, and to coördinate Federal-State planning agencies. The New England Commission complains that the latter purpose is defeated by the National Committee dealing directly with the State planning boards of the region.

The National Resources Committee points out that this regional arrangement brings Federal and State people together in the field close to the enterprise and close to the "regional climate of opinion." And from this regional center there will be a canalized flow of reviews, reports, and recommendations to the capitals of the States in the region and to Washington where they can be used in the "formulation of programs and authorizations." There is, of course, no guarantee that the regional commission's findings will be accepted by the capitals. In other words, the commission, unlike the TVA, has no authority beyond that found in the "persuasive power of assembled knowledge." In the next place the lines of responsibility are diffused. The chairman and the consultants and Federal representatives on technical committees are responsible to Washington; while the States' representatives on the commissions look to the State capitals. Successful regional planning must, therefore, depend entirely upon inter-governmental coöperation.

Planning is a coöperative work. It should thrive on decentralization because by this you enlist for the movement a wider and a more enthusiastic support. It allows the sharing and use of the available powers distributed under our Federal system. As the National Resources Board remarks, States' rights does not enter to embarrass the program makers. It is only, I might interpolate, when the plan reaches the stage of implementation or of execution that States' rights is liable to frustrate. If this hazard is passed you

⁴James W. Fesler, "Federal Administrative Regions," *American Political Science Review*, 30 (April 1, 1936); "Standardization of Federal Administrative Regions," *Social Forces*, 15, pp. 12-21 (October, 1936).

may then look out for "due process," and the contract clause to stop the advance of planning for the social welfare.

VI

It seems comparatively easy to make blueprints and charts showing how our human and natural resources may be conserved and developed. But plan execution is a different thing. It does not take an omniscient mind to gather facts and to formulate a policy, but it takes a bureaucracy, that is, a permanent, superlatively trained administrative personnel, something we do not have, to carry out this program. This is, therefore, our first great problem in Federal-State planning relations. Our other problem in any scheme for vitalizing a program of social and economic control is the constitutional problem. If we were under the strong arm of a totalitarian state, as some politicians say we are now, this would be no problem at all. But since we have a Federal system of government and a very mild kind of dictatorship in Washington, it behooves us to use as best we can the powers of the different levels of government.

The formal arrangements for using these powers for plan implementation are: (1) interlocking membership on planning commissions; (2) interstate compacts; (3) the Federal authority, the TVA, for example; and (4) the Federal subsidy system. Just a word for each of these and then to conclude this paper.

Interlocking membership is seen in the device of including members of State governments on State planning boards and of including on regional commissions representatives of both levels of government. This may facilitate administrative agreements for the execution of programs.

Another method of implementing a sub-national plan is the interstate compact.

Fifty-eight compacts have been authorized by Congress and thirteen have been made by States without congressional approval. Social scientists, however, are not enthusiastic about the compact as a method for accomplishing a social or economic program. The compact concept emphasizes the States, and more than that it is based on the idea of the sovereign State, which I believe was settled finally in 1865. It, therefore, shows the same procrastinating traits of the League of Nations trying to solve the Ethiopian question.⁵ And when the compact is finally made, there is the uncertainty of enforcement. The National Resources Committee is quite thoroughly convinced that the interstate compact is suitable only for settlement of such "traditional governmental functions" as bilateral boundary disputes, where the decisions are final and no continuous planning and administration are needed.

Of all devices to instrument a regional plan program the one of most interest to

⁵ An interesting example of difficulty in entering interstate compacts is seen in Governor Ehringhaus' reasons for refusing to call the North Carolina Legislature into session for the purpose of signing a tobacco compact. As summarized by the *Virginian-Pilot*, April 24, 1936, the Governor's reasons were: (1) the Federal legislation will not prove effective because Congress has taken from it the prohibition against the shipment in interstate commerce of tobacco produced in excess of quotas. (2) The Virginia legislation will not prove effective because it is conditioned on a finding by the Governor of Virginia that Georgia has established effective control. (3) Georgia has not established effective control, and can not so long as Governor Talmadge refuses to call the legislature. (4) South Carolina's legislation will not be adopted in less than three or four weeks, and when adopted will be only "a gesture, requiring legislation from Georgia, which will not come." (5) If North Carolina acts, and other states do not, and if the Federal legislation is ineffective, the practical effect will be to restrict acreage in North Carolina (which produces 70 per cent of the flue-cured tobacco chiefly under consideration), and therefore to penalize North Carolina producers to the benefit of producers in other States.

social scientists is the Tennessee Valley Authority. TVA is of particular interest because of its political nature and because of its great economic and social purposes. President Roosevelt described it as follows:

I, therefore, suggest to the Congress legislation to create the Tennessee Valley Authority—a corporation clothed with the powers of government but possessed of the flexibility and initiative of a private enterprise. It should be charged with the broadest duty of planning for the proper use, conservation and development of the natural resources of the Tennessee river basin and its adjoining territory for the general social and economic welfare of the Nation. This authority should be clothed also with the necessary power to carry these plans into effect.

As the President describes it, the TVA is a semi-public corporation exercising governmental powers, a planning and at the same time an agency for implementing the plan. In this regard it differs drastically from regional commissions described above which are only planning agencies with no authority.

Is this government creation combining planning and the power of plan execution the solution of some of our sub-national problems? There are, of course, critics of the idea. Mr. Hoover, as we have seen, calls it socialism. The New England area prefer the regional commission to the regional authority because they fear the latter will increase Federal control. Professor Elliott dislikes the idea of multiplying government corporations which may get entirely beyond effective administrative control. However, he believes this governmental device is justified in that it is removed from the direct pressure of patronage and from the deadening effect of departmental bureaucracy.⁶ The National Resources Board's opinion is that the TVA has proved its "possibilities of

inter-governmental cooperation in conduct of a regional development program. . . . The corporate principle is a sound one for the conduct of a regional plan. . . . The satisfactory implementation of plans demands energetic and vigorous action, and the autonomy of the corporation is conducive to that end." There are critics of the TVA who declare that its activity in building up one section will cause dislocations in others. Dr. Morgan's answer to this is: "Our country can no longer maintain isolated areas of prosperity. The southern highlands will reflect their prosperity upon you, or their poverty and exploitation will spread like an infection to your own communities." In other words, "the prosperity of the whole depends upon the well being of its parts."

Occasionally there is need for implemented planning on a national scale for those problems of economic and social control beyond the power of local jurisdictions. The experience of the past few years is proof enough that the handicaps to national action in this field are administrative and constitutional. The administrative limitation is due to the persistence of the spoils system in the government service, and to the people's unreasonable prejudice against a bureaucracy, particularly if it comes from Washington. In the next place the Court finds constitutional restrictions to governmental activities in the field of economic and social regulation. I see, however, little ground for the belief that better bill drafting and more efficient administration might have saved NRA and AAA. The Court's temper against this exercise of Federal power was too unmistakably revealed. Under our Federal system and in our benign ruler's present mood direct Federal execution of a national plan of economic control is impossible. As the President in his "horse and buggy" speech moodily observes:

⁶ W. Y. Elliott, *National Powers under the Constitution*, Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science, Jan., 1936.

"In some way we are going to attain or restore to the Federal Government the powers which are vested in the national government in every nation of the world—the right to legislate and to administer laws that have a bearing on general control over national economic and social problems."

The politically available "way" at the present moment for implementing a national program is by the Federal subsidy system which apparently has the Court's blessing. Forced to retreat from their direct attack on the problem of crop control, the government in its substitute for the AAA has fallen back on a plan similar to the well worn grant-in-aid. In the great omnibus National Social Security Act, the New Deal's attack on the hazards and vicissitudes of life, are found several features of the subsidy system.

I do not think that this is the "some way" the President has in mind, but Federal-State cooperation in Federal aid is "one way" of carrying out a social and economic program. This plan secures national minimum standards by, what Mr. John Dickinson calls, fertilizing local initiative. It is one of the few instances in our Federal-State relations where the State's administrative machin-

ery is used to execute a national function. The State government has, of course, been fertilized by the familiar features of the grant-in-aid; namely, (1) a State administrative organ adequate for cooperating with the United States government; (2) Federal approval of state plans; (3) Federal inspection; (4) periodic reports to Washington; (5) audit; and (6) the threat to withhold Federal funds if the State fails to meet the conditions of the grant.

Planning has its jurisdictional problems because in our complex Federal system we have to use the available powers of the different levels of government. We, therefore, see local government planning boards, State planning boards, regional commissions, and a National Resources Committee all working together in a grand scheme of inter-governmental co-operation.

It is not an end in itself, but as described in one of the exuberant passages of the National Resources Board, "planning is a means, a means for the better use of what we have, a means for the emancipation of millions of personalities now fettered, for the enrichment of human life in ways that will follow individual interest or even caprice. We may plan indeed for fuller liberty and are so planning now."

THE JOHN ANISFIELD AWARD

The Saturday Review of Literature announces in the issue of November 7th the award of the John Anisfield prize of \$1000 to Julian Huxley and A. C. Haddon for their book "We Europeans: A Survey of 'Racial' Problems. With a Contribution by A. M. Carr-Saunders," published by Harper & Bros.

The John Anisfield Award, established in 1934 by Mrs. Edith Anisfield Wolf of Cleveland, Ohio, in memory of her father, John Anisfield, is awarded annually to encourage and reward the production of good books in the field of racial relationships, either here or abroad. The committee of judges consists of Henry Pratt Fairchild, Professor of Sociology in New York University, Donald Young, of the Social Science Research Council, and Henry Seidel Canby, Contributing Editor to *The Saturday Review*.

In 1935, the first award went to Harold F. Gosnell for his book "Negro Politicians: The Rise of Negro Politics in Chicago."

WHITHER AGRARIAN ECONOMY IN THE UNITED STATES

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WHAT will become of the family farm in the United States? Will it remain the dominant type of farm business organization? Or will it disappear in this capitalistic commercial age? Will it give way to corporation farming applying the methods of large business concerns to the tasks of farming with the result that the rural community composed of owner-operator farmers will essentially be lost? Or will it decline towards the peasant levels in Europe? What is the true objective toward which we should direct our efforts if we are to maintain a sound agriculture without which we cannot have a sound nation? These questions go to the very heart of the farm problem.

There has been a great deal of discussion during the past few years concerning "the passing of the family farm" and the coming ascendancy of the corporation farm as the dominant type of managerial unit in agriculture. W. E. Dodd thinks the farmer is headed toward peasantry, whatever that term may be taken to mean; while L. M. Hacker writes with journalistic flourish that the farmer is doomed to wage slavery under a capitalistic system which is destined to submerge the family farm. Henry Ford is satisfied that the factory system is the only solution of the farm problem. These discussions may be disregarded as not being founded upon an adequate understanding of the determining factors in agriculture.

The purpose of this paper is to direct attention to the several forms of farm ownership and operation in the United States and to consider the dominant ob-

jective of a sound agrarian economy without which we cannot have a sound nation.

The independent farm proprietorship, designated more generally as the family farm, first commands our attention. By this term is meant a farm "large enough to occupy the reasonable working time of the farmer and his family" by the use of "the best and most efficient tools and machinery known to the farming world, with ample horse power, or some other form of power, to drive that machinery." The essential characteristics of the family farm unit are a moderate investment of capital particularly in implements, machinery, and other equipment; a substantial income, and a comparatively high standard of living. It contemplates economic independence and the enjoyment of a reasonable share of the comforts and luxuries of life. It implies education and refinement. A community composed of family farms operated by their owners provides the best schools and churches. It develops the best real rural leadership. It promotes cooperation most effectively. The family farm is deeply rooted in American life. It constitutes today, as it has in the past, the basic tenet of millions of American families. It is more than a business; it is a mode of life.

This does not mean that the family farm will prevail as the characteristic type of farming in the United States without a thorough study and understanding of the problem and the formulation of agricultural policies with this objective definitely in mind. The family farm has come to the crossroads. The liquidation process through which it has been passing and

which is still impending for the future constitutes the most serious crisis that has confronted the farm owner since pioneer days. It seems to be more severe than its counterpart in the nineties which I can recall from my boyhood experience on an Iowa farm.

The family farm varies in acreage and amount of investment depending on the type of farming practiced. In the corn belt the normal size of the family farm has not been increased appreciably during the last two decades; while the same period witnessed a remarkable expansion in the average size of farms in the Great Plains.

Several types of the family farm are to be considered. One is the farm that is operated by the owner; that is used as a home for himself and his family; and that is practically, if not entirely, free of debt. This is the ideal family farm. It is free of mortgage indebtedness. It creates a spirit of independence and inspires self-respect. It enables the farmer and his family to conduct the farm enterprise wisely with a view to securing the best returns to both land and labor. If properly managed, it will reduce living expenses to a minimum of each outlay. The operation of a farm on such a plan will bring returns to the farmer irrespective of the market price for farm products; and it will, moreover, enable him to secure a surplus of cash which will, of course, flow into the industrial field. This class of farm has been able to a remarkable degree to tide over the Great Depression. Many farmers of this class would have been in a position to meet the emergency more readily if they had not given up the use of horses and man labor for high priced modern machinery. They would have saved the expense of the original equipment and they would have avoided the depreciation, fuel, and repair costs.

Another type of the family farm is the farm that is operated by the owner burdened with a heavy mortgage indebtedness which deprives the owner of that freedom and independence which should be the possession of the tiller of the soil. Moreover, the income of this class of farm must be divided between two parties: the farmer and the mortgage holder, with the result that if prices for farm products are deflated the mortgage indebtedness becomes a greater burden and the farmer becomes discouraged as he realizes the increasing difficulty of meeting his obligations.

Then there is the family farm that is operated by a tenant and is heavily mortgaged. This type of family farm is operated under the burden of providing income for three parties: the tenant on the farm who expects to make not only a living but also a profit, the nominal title-holder who holds the equity which may be large or small and expects to support his family from the rental on the farm; and the mortgage holder who expects to be well paid for the amount of money he has invested in the farm. In this case the farm gets the worst of it because all parties concerned are under the necessity of getting the most out of the land while that is possible. This class of farm has by the cooperation of the interested parties survived and proceeded in fairly good order in times when prices for farm products were high, but it has not been able to withstand the deflation prices which characterize the Great Depression.

Finally, there is the type of farm that is free of mortgage indebtedness and the owner leases it out and retires to town. In this case two families expect to make a good living from the same farm. The interest of owner and tenant are practically identical: both want to get as much as possible out of the land. In this case,

however, both parties are in a position to cooperate effectively in the operation of the farm.

The heavy burden of mortgage indebtedness constitutes the most serious threat to the family farm in the Great Depression. This reached the staggering load of nearly \$10,000,000,000 in 1932, about one-ninth of which is borne by the State of Iowa. Alvin Johnson characterizes it as the "farmers' indemnity," comparable to the war indemnity imposed upon Germany by the Allied Powers. The factors contributing to this huge indemnity are external rather than internal. That is to say, they are forces over which the farmer had little control. Speculation and industrialism are primarily responsible. These forces must be met if the family farm is to be preserved. This requires State intervention. Even so, it may be noted that over fifty per cent of the farms of Iowa were free of mortgage indebtedness in 1932.

Large scale farming has attracted a great deal of attention in the Prairie and Great Plains regions since the World War. This type of farming may for convenience be divided, according to Dr. C. L. Holmes, into four classes: first, the enlarged family farm; second, the corporation or factory farm; third, chain farming; and fourth, managerial service agencies.

The increase in the normal size of the family farm constitutes one of the significant changes in American agriculture since the World War, especially in the wheat and cotton areas of the Great Plains and to a lesser degree in some parts of the western corn belt. The mechanization of agriculture has made possible the increase in the size of farms and the amount of investment in farms in these regions. The tractor constitutes the most effective power unit for large scale farming. This is supplemented by many new machines designed primarily for power

farming: the combined harvester-threshers, high capacity tillage machinery, and mechanical corn pickers. The introduction of these machines has been accompanied by a revolution in farming methods with resultant reduction in costs. It may be noted that the large scale development has taken place largely in these areas of the Great Plains which are devoted to extensive crop production; while the normal size farm in the heart of the Corn Belt has not increased appreciably from 1910 to 1935. While some conspicuous developments have taken place on the Great Plains, the movement toward consolidation of holdings and toward operations on a large scale has not gone far enough to justify the conclusion that it will succeed. Finally, it must be borne in mind that the enlarged holding does not necessarily involve corporation farming. It is quite consistent with the family farm which is the prevailing type of farm ownership and operation, even though the farm may be larger.

The "corporation" farm or the "factory" farm are terms used to describe the farm in which the productive program and the farming tasks are organized on the basis of specialization or division of labor as found in the typical factory. Much has been written in recent years in advocacy of the complete industrialization of agriculture as a means of relieving distressed conditions in farming. Agriculture is conceived in terms of business and productive units on a large scale; in terms of hired labor. This type of ownership and operation must take into consideration the fact that a corporation assumes operation for profit only. It must pay dividends. It requires continuous operation. It is dependent on the division of labor. It must build up large reserves out of previous profits in order to withstand unusual deflation. Farming, however, is

not only an occupation or a business; it is a mode of life. It is not a mechanical problem. It is a biological problem, involving the sowing, growing, and harvesting of crops; the raising of animals; and the daily and seasonal variations in the weather. This is a fundamental distinction which makes it impossible to organize farming along industrial lines. Corporation farming has had a set-back since 1920 with little prospect of revival in the near future for reasons which are inherent in the nature of the farming business. It may be tried again when prices become stabilized. It is possible that grain farming in regions of specialized production may eventually be turned over to corporations. In that event it is probable that the family farm owners would use the cheap grain produced by the corporation farms to conduct a skillful livestock business.

There are, to be sure, a limited number of farms in the United States on which a highly specialized type of production permits the corporate form of organization. The total number of these factory farms, however, represents but a very small fraction of one per cent of all the farms in the United States. The key to the technique of modern industry is the division of labor. This does not have the same significance for agriculture that it has for manufacturing.

Chain farming is a term applied to the more or less extensive control by a single individual or a group over the land, finances, and operation of a number of family farms. Under this form of ownership and operation the integrity of the family farm is preserved, but the formulation of the production program and the business policy involved in investment, marketing, and the purchase of supplies is directed and controlled by the overhead management. This type of farming has

been developed in the South since the war between the States to insure an adequate supply of Negro labor after the abolition of slavery. Under this system the owner of the land exercises general supervision to the extent of determining the crops to be grown, the methods to be followed, and the time of marketing the crop, while the laborer and his family are given a limited amount of supervision over their own activities in carrying out the detailed operations. A similar type of farming has also been developed in a limited way in the northern states where large estates were accumulated in the days of cheap land and divided into individual farming units and rented out to family farm operators with close supervision over the activities of the tenants. These examples typify the chain farms that are located in one compact area and operated by tenants.

The significance of this type of large scale farming has been greatly increased during the Great Depression following the land boom of the war. Mortgage foreclosures compelled thousands of original owners to relinquish title to their farms. Credit agencies came into possession of a number of farms for which they have employed managers with varying degrees of responsibility in the selection of tenants, and the determination of the farming program and improvements to be made. These holdings have for the most part been widely distributed, thus making close supervision almost impossible. Furthermore, the men selected to manage the farms have in many instances lacked the training and experience for this kind of work while others have not been equal to the task of prescribing a rational system of farming involving the use of applied science and improved technique.

It would seem that this type of large scale farming has great possibilities.

When we consider the fact that fifty per cent of the farms of the United States are now in the hands of tenants, it may readily be understood what might be accomplished if these farms were under the control of really capable agricultural proprietors. The great difficulties in the realization of this aim are: first, farms of this type are widely distributed; second, ownership is decentralized; and third, owners of land are slow to recognize the importance of employing expert managers. Even so, chain farming is a significant phase of large scale farming in these times of rapidly changing agricultural conditions.

The managerial service type of farming is closely allied with chain farming. Under this form of control, farming may be organized on the basis of foreman and laborers working under the direction of the managerial service or this service may supervise the owner's land under a leasing system. The managerial service takes the place of the landlord in determining improvements to be made, the farming program to be carried on, the division and marketing of the product, the maintenance of soil fertility and other matters relating to farming operators. This type of organization has several distinct advantages. It makes possible the collective marketing of farm products and the collective buying of supplies. It makes possible a farm-to-farm division of functions such as feed crops on some farms especially suited for that purpose and livestock for the consumption of feed on other farms.

It is urged that this type of organization is well adapted to the present tenancy system. It obviates the necessity of concentrated ownership and it avoids the difficulties due to the wide geographic distribution of the farms owned by one agency, such as an insurance company. It provides about the only means by which

a considerable number of small-scale landlords, owning from one to several farms, can acquire the service of expert managers. It must be recognized, however, that this type of farm organization is doomed to failure unless the persons selected for managerial positions possess the fundamental training and business experience which will enable them to function successfully in this capacity. What is needed then is a high type of managerial ability. This need must be met if the managerial service form of farm organization is to win its place in competition with the less skilled less effective management of numerous small holders.

We turn now to "subsistence farming" which is the most remote from large scale farming. This type of farming dates back to primitive times. Through its long history it has been associated with other occupations. It is operated by the family to provide products for the use of the family. Subsistence farming is primarily not a business but a mode or way of life and it must be supplemented by occupations or trades which provide an income. It represents a farm economy in which there is very little capital invested, particularly in the form of labor-saving implements and machinery; in which the income is meager; in which the standard of living is relatively low. It may or may not denote tenancy and the threatening landlord. Subsistence farming should not be confused with "peasant farming." This term is not very clearly defined in literature on American farming. In one sense it is a feudalistic term suggesting a condition not far removed from serfdom and therefore of doubtful validity with reference to the United States.

The American pioneer was a subsistence farmer. We have always had a fringe of the subsistence farmer, particularly in

areas most unfavorable for farming; but that fringe became very largely the whole cloth by 1933. The prevailing low prices in the post-war period tended to transform farming from a commercial into a self-sufficing occupation. We will always have this fringe of the subsistence farmer but just what it will be when the process of readjustment is completed and a new normalcy is established cannot, of course, be foreseen. It appears, however, that with the substantial contraction of the market for our agricultural products, much of which bids fair to be relatively permanent, we will have in the future a considerably larger and more important element of subsistence farming than we have had in the past. The farmers of the Middle West will resist the lowered status of the subsistence farmer, but many may be compelled to accept it by force of circumstances. The unemployed population of towns and cities will take advantage of this type of farming as affording the only alternative for a livelihood; while factory workers will tend to drift toward part-time farming. The latter should be studied further from the standpoint of the decentralization of industry. The soundest way to take care of the seasonal unemployment problem is by the gradual moving of industry to smaller communities where it will be possible for workers to live on small tracts of land within fifteen or twenty miles of the city. This movement will solve the problem of occasional periods of idleness in the factory.

What is the dominant objective of a sound agricultural philosophy? Is this objective attainable? Are we pursuing it or must we accept the verdict of failure? Are we compelled to adopt the fatalistic attitude that farming is doomed to a condition of wage-slavery or peasantry?

The chief obstacle to the development

of a sound rural policy is the fact that the commercial aspects of farming have been given too much prominence. The value of the farm as a business has been emphasized at the expense of its value as a home. Farming as a mere business enterprise with only commercial objectives is in most individual instances very disappointing. Moreover, it usually tends to be overdone. The fact remains that the chief attainable rewards of farming are not economic but social. President Farrell of the Kansas State College of Agriculture and Applied Science observes that:

Adversity is impressing large numbers of farm people with this fact. Thus, it is laying the foundations for the acceptance of a rural philosophy that seems likely in the end to prevail. This philosophy holds that the chief objective of farming is not to accumulate monetary wealth but to promote human happiness in the countryside; that the farm should be regarded primarily as a home and only incidentally as a business enterprise.

This philosophy regards farming and farm life as lifetime profession and not as something similar to a penitentiary sentence to be gotten through with as soon as possible.

When financial savings accumulate, as they usually do in time on a farm dominated by this philosophy, they are expended not for more land or other facilities for increasing production, but for conveniences, comforts, and beautification; for books, labor-saving devices, education, bathtubs, music, pictures, rugs, trees, flowers. This rural philosophy leads not to continuous expansion and the idolatry of size and numbers, but to persistent moderation; to a method of working and a way of living that exemplify genuine temperance.

While the purely business aspects of farming are supplemental rather than primary, there must be reasonably businesslike procedure; and that procedure must be in tune with a long time program for the development, conservation, and enjoyment of both the physical and the human resources of each farm.

The family farm constitutes the dominant objective of a sound philosophy of agriculture. This objective can no longer be secured by the laissez-faire methods which characterized the pioneer period which was brought to a close by the turn

of the century. A well conceived long-time plan of procedure must be formulated and put into effect. This program should give due consideration to the immediate needs of the farmer but these needs should be in harmony with a long-time program for the preservation of the family farm as the corner stone of American agriculture. Such a program should include the following lines of procedure which have been advanced by the Committee on Agricultural Philosophy and Objectives of Iowa State College adopted in 1933:

- I. Recognition of the interdependence of rural and urban interests.
 1. General acceptance, by both rural and urban people, of the fact that whenever agriculture suffers from national and international maladjustments, these maladjustments seriously affect the economic and social welfare not only of farmers but also of industrial employers and workers, business and professional people; that these maladjustments can be rectified only by society as a whole; and that be such rectification demands the adoption of a national policy which will give to those of our people engaged in agriculture an equality of opportunity with those engaged in other industries and professions.
 2. Recognition of the economic interdependence of farm people and urban wage-earners, and of the necessity of a return to these wage-earners of a just share of the wealth which they produce, as fundamental to their ability at all times to purchase agricultural commodities in such quantities as adequately to meet their needs.
- II. A favorable economic environment.
 1. Such modification of our monetary, banking, and credit system as will tend to prevent violent fluctuations in the value of the medium of exchange and thus to stabilize the general price level.
 2. Such reorganization and coordination as may be necessary to develop a sound banking and credit system adapted to the needs of agriculture.
 3. The encouragement of international trade by the modification or elimination of such artificial barriers as either directly or indirectly affect agriculture disadvantageously.
 4. Increased efficiency and economy in the transportation of farm commodities.
 5. The adoption of a national policy for adjusting agricultural production to prevailing and prospective demand and for handling burdensome agricultural surpluses while this adjustment is in progress.
 6. The adoption of national, state, and local policies of land utilization with due regard to the interests of agriculture.
 7. The development of a broader base of taxation which takes account of the ability to pay and benefits received, in order that agriculture may be relieved of the unjust burden placed upon it by undue adherence to the general property tax.
 8. General availability to rural communities of economical electric power.
- III. Efficient management and production methods.
 1. The development of adequate national, state, and local soil building and conservation programs.
 2. The general adoption of such farm methods as will result in the lowest practicable cost of production; such lowered costs not to be secured at the expense of an equitable labor income and a high standard of living.
 3. Improvement in the quality of agricultural products to enable American agriculture better to compete in domestic and world markets and to fulfill the obligation of the producer to the consumer.
- IV. Effective group action through organization.
 1. General recognition of the benefits possible through membership and active participation in properly organized and efficiently managed cooperative enterprises, and the general development of a cooperative attitude of mind in farm people.
 2. General participation of farm people in agricultural organizations and the better coordination of these agencies of effective influence in local, county, state, and national affairs.
- V. A satisfactory social environment and standard of living.
 1. Attractive, comfortable, convenient, and healthful farm homes and surroundings.
 2. The development of a system of leasing farm lands which will encourage permanency of residence.
 3. Improved facilities for rural communication and transportation.
 4. The development of agencies, both public and private, for disease prevention, medical

care, and hospital service to give to rural communities health programs and facilities comparable to those generally available to city residents.

5. The continued development of knowledge in nutrition, clothing, home management and home furnishing to the end that the maximum of health and comfort from the farm family may be secured from the available resources.
6. Greater cooperation between country and town people in community development, providing for health advancement, wholesome recreation, social welfare, educational and economic opportunity, and spiritual growth.
7. The use of a larger portion of the farm income, above that needed for economic security, for improving standards of living in the country rather than for unwarranted expansion of acreage or investment in other enterprises which do not yield returns in the larger satisfactions of life.
8. A high appreciation of the natural advantages of rural life for the development of those pleasures and satisfactions that go to make living most worth while.
9. The development of more effective uses of human time and energy in order to provide the maximum of happiness and wellbeing from work, recreation, education, and worship.

VI. Adequate rural educational opportunities.

1. The nearest possible approach to equality of educational opportunity, made possible by an increased portion of school funds from Federal and State sources, without undue sacrifice of local control.
2. A rural teaching personnel, adequately trained and experienced, which has a genuine sympathy with, and an understanding of, country life and its problems.
3. Provision for broad, fundamental curricula in schools serving rural communities, which will bring to country people the richness of the culture of mankind, while including adequate specialized education for farming and country life.
4. Adequate opportunity for both liberal and vocational education for the older farm youth, adult farmers, and farm women.
5. A program of higher education which trains for farming and for rural life and leadership, as well as for other agricultural pursuits, and which adequately recognizes the

humanistic, social, and economic aspects of country life.

The advantages of a program of this kind are: the preservation of the family farm as the dominant type of land ownership; the retention of a good farm in the same family from generation to generation; a greater stability of tenure, insuring a more satisfactory social life and providing a better basis for cooperation; the improvement of the rural community; the gradual lifting of the great burden of debt which would reduce the pressure to produce the maximum volume of cash crops; and the lessening of the tendency to over-production.

Dr. Alvin S. Johnson urges that the rapid turnover in farm lands must be checked if we are to have a sound agriculture. He observes that:

A sound agriculture is based on the technical skill and energy of the farmer, his insight, spirit, and love of the country-side, the jollity of the country picnic and dance, the fresh checked maidens who eagerly seek the rôle of sweethearts of country boys and develop into contented farmers wives. The original and independent properties of the soil are all very well in their way, but they are dead matter which counts only if organized into the living community. And that the community may live and prosper, much of the surplus produced by the fields must remain in the community, in the form of new and better buildings, better equipment for farm and house, better churches, schools, social halls. The frequent turnover of farms loads the country up with debts and robs it of the surplus on which a rich and agreeable rural life could be based and the resultant dullness and thinness of life accelerates the farm turnover. Discontent is one of the infectious diseases. . . . The rising generation is most seriously affected by this community restlessness. One thing is certain: we shall never have a sound, contented, debt-free rural life until the process of farm turnover has been much slowed down. Anything that makes country life more fruitful and agreeable would help: the organization of cooperative societies; the establishment of institutions like the Danish folk schools; university extension; the building up through a farsighted urban philanthropy of the rural church. But we are too impatient a people to throw ourselves enthusiastically

into a program that might not show tangible results for half a century. We insist on remedies that work more promptly and efficaciously and we can find them if we set about it.

How may this rapid turnover in farm lands be prevented? How may the state function to prevent this evil? Dr. Johnson proposes that the state might properly enact a profits tax that would appropriate almost the entire profit from the sale of land and allocate the major portion of any increase over the present value to the community in which the tax is collected. The proceeds of this tax should be applied locally while the taxes should be reduced. This would prevent "the plundering of the country for the benefit of the city." A profits tax "would practically abolish the unearned increment subsidy to agriculture. Every buyer of land would have to look to actual earnings, not to rising values, for the return on his capital. This means that on the buyer's side the process of farm turnover would be retarded. If the prices of farm products rose, as they must sooner or later, a large class of farm owners would find that they were in a privileged position, so long as they held farms as owners. They would be enjoying the full benefit of better prices. But they could not write any considerable part of these high prices into their capital through the sale of their farms, since the community would take most of the advance in selling prices." Absentee landlordism could be prevented by a special tax on lands not operated by their owners.

"We shall be a sound nation," says Dr. Johnson, "when we have a sound agriculture. We shall have a sound agriculture when we free it of speculation and a swift turnover of holdings, with its consequence, unbearable debts, an indemnity on the land. We can do it without disturbing any just rights or equities. If we choose."

Our nation has advanced to a point where we must modify the philosophy of individualism that has dominated American thought in the past. American agriculture, if it is to maintain its important position in the national economic and social system, must realize that the time has passed when the individualism of pioneer days is sufficient to overcome any difficulties that may be met. The individual farmer can no longer succeed by his own unaided efforts. In earlier days the things which made for success or failure were largely in the control of the individual farmer. Today, other factors beyond the influence of the individual lean upon the success of a farm enterprise in ways undreamed of fifty years ago. Formerly the man who handled his resources efficiently was a successful farmer. If he was industrious he was assured of success. Today even the most thrifty, efficient, and industrious may fail through no fault of their own. Forces have been set in motion with which society alone can cope. The individual is helpless in attempting to deal with the larger forces.

The "rugged individualism" of the pioneer period played its part in the colonization of the west. Individual initiative and resourcefulness were developed in response to the needs of a frontier society. Frontier society was essentially individualistic and to a large extent economically self-sufficient. Laissez-faire has had its day. This does not mean the end of individualism. Individualism will play an important part in American society as long as our democratic system of government endures; for democracy means liberty and the opportunity of everyone to rise to the highest and best of which he is capable. This does not mean unrestricted individualism which permits exploitation of the masses. A higher form of indi-

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vidualism must be developed. This is cooperative individualism.

The problems of an agricultural society can no longer be left to chance. For solving these problems, the prevailing "economic fatalism" must give way. The notion that "nothing can be done," that the course of economic events is inevitable, must give way to the idea

that the actions of society can and do effect profoundly the course of events; that intelligent action modifies the direction in which economic forces work themselves out; and that society can modify to a considerable extent the effects of economic forces by making it possible for individuals to adjust themselves to these forces easily and quickly.

RACIAL FACTORS AND ECONOMIC FORCES IN LAND TENURE IN THE SOUTH*

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RACIAL factors, which in the main are social and political, have had a great influence on land tenure in the South. The emphasis, however, which has been placed on the influence of racial factors has tended to obscure the facts concerning the operation of economic forces. This paper concerns itself with both the influence of racial factors and the operation of economic forces on land tenure in the South.

I

ECONOMIC FORCES IN LAND TENURE

The operation of economic forces are considered: First, from the point of view of the distribution of the population—white and Negro, total and rural; second, from the point of view of the distribution of farm operators—white and Negro.

Inter-County Migration. The migrations that have taken place in the South in the past forty years have been due in the main to economic forces. The migrations which have received the most attention have been those to the North and to urban

centers North and South. In this article special attention is given to inter-county migration within the South, particularly the movement from black counties to white counties of the rural population, white and Negro, and of farm operators, white and Negro. This inter-county population movement is considered from three standpoints: First, the change in the percentage distribution of the population, white and Negro in the groups of black and white counties; second, the percentage increase and decrease of the population, white and Negro, in white counties and black counties; third, the density increase in number and percentage per square mile of the population, white and Negro, in the white counties and black counties.

The term "South" as used throughout this article applies to the regions below the Potomac and the Ohio Rivers, and includes the thirteen States, extending from Virginia and West Virginia to Texas, but excluding Oklahoma.¹ The population of this region in 1860 was: white, 6,366,279, Negro, 3,890,137. In 1930 the

* Presented at the meeting of the Southern Sociological Society in Atlanta, Georgia, April 17-18, 1936.

¹ The period considered in this article is from 1860-1935. Oklahoma is excluded because it was not admitted to statehood until 1907.

population was: white, 24,332,472, Negro, 8,748,330. This, despite migrations out of the South, was an increase for the seventy years, 1860-1930, of 282.2 per cent for the white and 125.0 per cent for the Negro population.

Patterns of Population Distribution. An examination of maps showing the distribution of the population in the South by color and by classes of counties for 1860, 1900, and 1930 appear to indicate that there is similarity in the pattern of the distribution for each of these census years.² In 1860, in 1900, and in 1930, the Negro population was widely distributed over the entire South. In 1860 there were seven counties, six in the organized part of Western Texas and one in Virginia, without Negro population; the number of such counties in 1900 was thirty-seven: thirty-six in Western Texas and one in Virginia; in 1930 the number of such counties was sixteen: ten in Western Texas, one in Southern Texas, three in Arkansas, one in Georgia, and one in West Virginia.

DISTRIBUTION OF WHITE AND NEGRO POPULATION BY GROUPS OF COUNTIES

To throw further light upon the distribution pattern, the white and Negro

² For the purposes of this article the counties of the South, on the basis of a $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent interval, are divided into eight classes: the first class is the one with no Negro population; the second class is the one having less than $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent Negro population; the eighth class is the one having 75 per cent and over Negroes in the population.

³ Groups of Counties:

White Counties (those with no Negro population or only a small percentage)

Middle Counties, that is, Counties in which the white and Negro population tends to become somewhat equal.

Black Counties (those with more than half their population Negro)

population by groups of counties is considered.³ A study of the population distribution of the South by groups of counties brings out a number of interesting facts. One of these is the shrinkage of the "Black Counties" areas from 167,046 square miles in 1860 to 166,083 square miles in 1900 and to 106,581 square miles in 1930. A decrease over the seventy year period of more than 60,000 square miles. (See Table I.)

Percentages derived from Table I show that in 1860 Group Three, the Black Counties, had less than one-fifth, 19.5 per cent, of the total white population of the South and more than one-half of the total Negro population, 55.8 per cent. In 1930 the Black Counties contained a little more than one-twentieth, 6.6 per cent of the total white population of the South, and less than one-third of the total Negro population, 31.4 per cent.

The shrinkage of the Black Counties area has been accompanied by a corresponding expansion of the White Counties area. (See Table I.) The number of counties and area in square miles of the White Counties group in 1860 was 585 and 343,705. The number and area in 1930 was 921 and 592,326. Thus from 1860 to 1930 we have a percentage increase of 57.4 in the number of counties and 72.3 increase in the area of the White Counties group. A large part of this increase was due to the organizing from 1860 to 1930, out of unorganized territory in Western Texas, of more than 100 counties.

Classes of Counties in Each Group

Group One	{	I. No Negro population
		II. 00 to $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent Negro
		III. $12\frac{1}{2}$ to 25 per cent Negro
		IV. 25 to $37\frac{1}{2}$ per cent Negro
Group Two	{	V. $37\frac{1}{2}$ to 50 per cent Negro
Group Three	{	VI. 50 to $62\frac{1}{2}$ per cent Negro
		VII. $62\frac{1}{2}$ to 75 per cent Negro
		VIII. 75 per cent and over Negro

In 1860 the White Counties had less than two-thirds, 65.0 per cent, of the total white population of the South and less than one-fourth of the total Negro population of the South, 24.5 per cent. In 1930 the White Counties contained more than four-fifths, 81.6 per cent, of the total white population of the South and more than two-fifths, 43.9 per cent of the total Negro population of the South.

The rural population distribution in its relation to land tenure is perhaps more

It is found that in 1860 the rural population in the White Counties was a little less than two-thirds, 64.6 per cent, of the total white population of the South and a little more than one-fifth, 23.8 per cent, of the total Negro population of the South. In 1930 the White Counties contained a little more than four-fifths, 81.0 per cent, of the rural white population of the South and a little more than one-third, 35.2 per cent, of the rural Negro population of the South.

TABLE I

DENSITY OF TOTAL AND RURAL POPULATION BY GROUPS OF COUNTIES IN SOUTH: 1860, 1900, 1930
Distribution by Color of Total and Rural Population by Groups of Counties and by Area in Square Miles of Each Group of Counties: 1860, 1900, 1930

GROUPS OF COUNTIES	YEARS	NUMBER OF COUNTIES IN GROUP	AREA IN SQUARE MILES IN EACH GROUP OF COUNTIES	TOTAL POPULATION		RURAL POPULATION	
				White	Negro	White	Negro
Total	1860	972	607,845	6,366,279	3,890,137	5,801,540	3,699,550
	1900	1,206	795,758	14,556,547	7,514,822	12,318,141	6,346,761
	1930	1,286	797,520	24,332,472	8,748,330	16,428,133	6,157,945
Group One	1860	585	343,705	4,138,866	950,788	3,746,117	878,850
	1900	772	534,137	10,380,911	1,943,531	8,945,970	1,488,629
	1930	921	592,326	19,836,242	3,837,867	13,302,965	2,171,333
Group Two	1860	147	97,094	985,185	767,662	909,772	718,773
	1900	151	95,538	1,975,951	1,495,586	1,588,761	1,216,549
	1930	175	98,613	2,876,641	2,157,667	1,887,949	1,540,969
Group Three	1860	240	167,046	1,242,228	2,171,687	1,145,651	2,101,927
	1900	283	166,083	2,199,685	4,075,705	1,783,410	3,641,583
	1930	190	106,581	1,619,589	2,752,796	1,237,219	2,445,643

significant than the total population distribution. In 1860 Group Three, the Black Counties, had a little less than one-fifth, 19.7 per cent, of the total rural white population of the South and more than one-half, 56.8 per cent, of the total rural Negro population. In 1930 the Black Counties contained a little more than one-thirteenth of the total rural white population of the South, 7.5 per cent, and a little less than two-fifths of the total Negro population, 39.8 per cent.

POPULATION DENSITY OF WHITE AND BLACK COUNTIES

The density per square mile of the rural population in the Black Counties in 1860 was, white, 6.9; Negro, 12.6; in 1900, white, 10.7; Negro, 21.9; in 1930, white 11.6; Negro, 22.9. The great difference in the percentage of the density increase from 1900 to 1930 when contrasted with that from 1860 to 1900 is note-

worthy. The percentage increase was: from 1860 to 1900, white, 55.1; Negro, 73.8; 1900 to 1930, white, 8.4; Negro, 4.6.

The density per square mile of the rural population in the White Counties in 1860 was, white, 10.9; Negro, 2.4; in 1900, white, 16.7; Negro, 2.8; in 1930, white, 22.5; Negro, 3.7. The percentage increase was: from 1860 to 1900, white, 53.2; Negro, 16.7; 1900 to 1930, white, 34.7; Negro, 32.1.

The percentage increase in density for the white rural population in White Counties from 1900 to 1930 was 18.5 per cent less than it was from 1860 to 1900. In contrast, the percentage increase in the density of the Negro rural population in the White Counties was 15.4 per cent greater from 1900 to 1930 than from 1860 to 1900.

From what has been shown above, it would appear that aside from the shrinkage of the Black Counties areas and an accompanying expansion of the White Counties areas, there is a definite movement of the population—white and Negro, from Black Counties into White Counties.

The increase in the population in a given area may be the result of one or all of three causes: First, an expansion of the area itself; second, the increase of births over deaths; third, the excess of migrations into the area over migrations out of the area. Omitting the expansion of areas already noted, also the excess of births over deaths which have more or less to do with the fixed population, we can consider that part of the population which is in flux, that is, moving into or out of a given area.

In the period 1860- to 1930 there has been a decreasing increase of the Negro population from 22.1 in 1860 to 13.6 in 1930. There is further confirmation of this when the decreasing birth and death rates for Negroes for the past forty years

are considered. All evidence points to migrations where there is any considerable increase of the Negro population. This would appear to hold good when the population increase of the South, from 1900 to 1930 and 1860 to 1900, are considered for the total South and the three divisions, "One," "Two" and "Three." It appears that the greatest increase of population, percentage, and density, has been in the white counties.

There were 444 white counties in the South which from 1920 to 1930 had an increase in their Negro population. 350 of these counties were in the cotton states. The fifty in North Carolina were distributed over the entire state, excepting the extreme Northeast and Eastern sections. Half of these counties are in the Western part of the State. The four counties in South Carolina are located one in the Eastern section, one in the Northern section and two in the Western section of the State. The twenty-four counties in Georgia are located in the upper Southern and Northern section of the State.

The twenty-three in Alabama fall in the Northern section and the extreme Southern section of the State. The twenty-two in Mississippi are located in the extreme Northeastern and Southeastern sections of the State. The twenty-five in Tennessee are distributed over the entire State. The twenty in Arkansas are located over the entire State except the Delta Area. The eighteen in Louisiana are located in the Central and Southwestern sections of the State. The one hundred and sixty-four in Texas are located all over the State, but with the largest number in the western and Central sections.

DISTRIBUTION OF WHITE AND NEGRO FARM OPERATORS BY GROUPS OF COUNTIES

An examination of Table II-A below shows that in 1900, Group Three, the Black Counties, had a little less than one-

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seventh, 14.6 of the total white farm owners, and 49.5 or almost one-half of the total Negro farm owners in the South. In 1935, the Black Counties had a little less than one-fifteenth, 7.2 of the total white farm owners and 35.2, a little more than one-third of the total Negro farm owners in the South. In 1900, Group One, the White Counties, had 72.7 almost three-fourths of the total white farm owners and 28.2 a little more than one-fourth of the

the Black Counties group had a little less than one-eleventh, 9.2 of the total white farm tenants and 52.8, a little more than one-half of the total Negro farm tenants in the South. In 1900 the White Counties group had less than three-fourths, 70.9 of the total white farm tenants and 15.2, not quite one-seventh, of the total Negro farm tenants in the South. In 1935 the White Counties group had little more than three-fourths, 78.0 of the total white farm

TABLE II

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY GROUPS OF COUNTIES OF FARM OPERATORS BY COLOR IN THE SOUTH: 1900, 1930, 1935

GROUPS OF COUNTIES	PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION					
	1900		1930		1935	
	Per Cent in Each Group		Per Cent in Each Group		Per Cent in Each Group	
	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro

A. Percentage Distribution by Groups of Counties of White and Negro Farm Owners in the South: 1900, 1930, 1935

Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Group One	72.7	28.2	82.4	38.0	82.0	38.7
Group Two	12.7	22.3	10.7	26.5	10.7	26.1
Group Three	14.6	49.5	6.9	35.5	7.2	35.2

B. Percentage Distribution by Groups of Counties of White and Negro Farm Tenants in the South: 1900, 1930, 1935

Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Group One	70.9	15.2	77.7	25.1	78.0	24.1
Group Two	12.9	16.2	13.0	23.1	12.8	23.1
Group Three	16.2	68.6	9.3	51.8	9.2	52.8

total Negro farm owners in the South. In 1935 the White Counties had 82.0, a little more than four-fifths of the total white farm owners and 38.7, not quite two-fifths of the total Negro farm owners in the South.

An examination of Table II-B below shows that in 1900, the Black Counties group had not quite one-seventh, 16.2 of the total white farm tenants and 68.6, a little more than two-thirds of the total Negro farm tenants in the South. In 1935,

tenants and not quite one-fourth, 24.1 of the total Negro farm tenants in the South.

From what has been shown above it would appear that the result of the shrinkage of the black belt area and the movement of Negroes from Black Counties to White Counties has resulted in a more even distribution of the Negro population over the entire South.

A question that can be raised relative to the movement of whites and Negroes from black to white counties is to what

extent is this a movement from richer to poorer soils? It is generally held that the land in the white counties, taken as a whole, is of a poorer quality than the land in the black counties. This, however, is more or less on the basis of cotton production and would not necessarily hold true for other productions.

Another question than can be raised is whether it may not be worth while to initiate efforts to make the less profitable areas, the poorer soils, more profitable by a number of innovations such as are recommended by Professor George W. Carver of Tuskegee Institute and the Farm Chemurgic Council. These innovations call for: (1) New uses of old products as cotton in road building, starches, oils and other products from the peanut and the sweet potato. (2) The use of waste products as okra stalks, cotton stalks, and cotton linters, this latter now being used in the making of insulation boards. (3) The use of products growing in an area but not being used, as for example, the use of slash pine in the manufacturing of paper. (4) The introduction of new plants into an area, as for example, the introduction of the soy bean and the tung tree into sections of the South, the latter for manufacturing tung oil now largely used in industry and in the main imported. The former in addition to use as forage is also made into a lacquer for painting automobiles.

Such a procedure as indicated above would enable almost any area or region, however unprofitable, to become profitable by the development of its agricultural, industrial, and commercial resources. Making the less profitable areas more profitable would not be as expensive as a resettlement program and in the long run be surer of success, thus bringing to the nation a greater degree of permanent prosperity.

CENTERS OF POPULATION AND CENTERS OF FARM OPERATORS

To throw further light upon trends of population and of farm operators, the centers of population—white and Negro, total and rural, for the years 1860, 1900, and 1930 were ascertained. The centers of farm operators—white and Negro, owners and tenants for each of the years, 1900, 1910, 1920, 1930, and 1935 were also ascertained. It was found that the centers of population and the centers of farm operators, all lie between the two parallels 34° and 35° north latitude—a belt about sixty miles in width.

Centers of Population. An examination of the map indicating centers of population shows that from 1860 to 1900 the movement of the centers was westward; that from 1900 to 1930 the centers of population tended to concentrate in a small area in the northeastern part of Alabama. It is to be noted that the centers of population—total and rural, for white and Negro, had about the same relative position in 1860 and in 1930, the Negro center being in each instance a few miles to the northwest of the white center.

The centers of both white and Negro total population in 1860 were in Greenville County in the northwestern part of South Carolina. In 1930 the center of the white population had moved South of West, 203 miles to the northeastern part of Alabama in DeKalb County. The Negro population center in the same period had moved 209 miles South of West into Marshall County, Alabama, which adjoins DeKalb County.

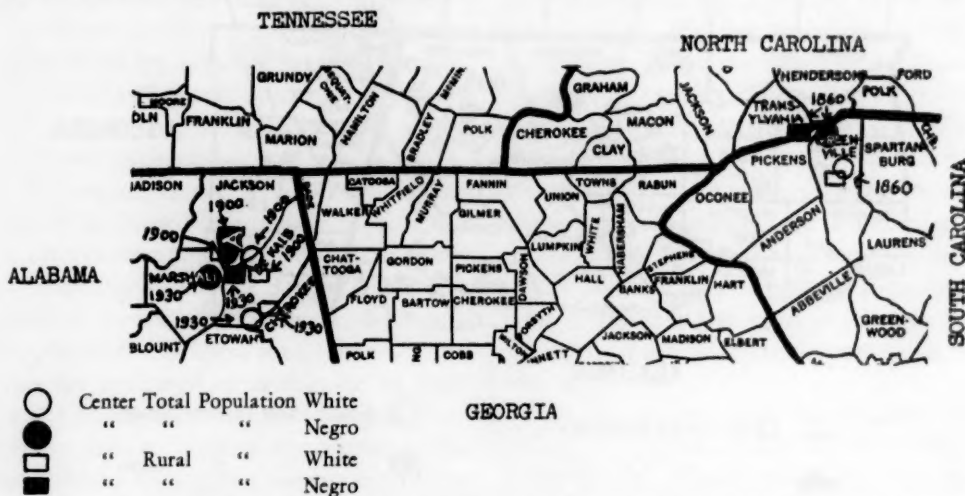
The center of the rural white population in 1860 was in Greenville County, South Carolina. The center of the rural Negro population was a few miles to the northwest on the line between Pickens County, South Carolina and Transylvania

County, North Carolina. In 1930 the center of the rural white population was in the southeastern part of DeKalb County, Alabama, and the center of the rural Negro population was in the southwestern part of the same county.

Centers of Farm Operators. In the period 1900-1930, the movement of the centers of white and Negro farm operators was westward. The centers of farm owner operators, white, in 1930 was in Dade County in the northwestern part of Georgia. The center of Negro farm owner operators at this time was a few miles distant in De-

was in Lawrence County, Alabama, which adjoins Morgan on the west. Thirty years later the center of white tenant farm operators had moved 74.3 miles southwest into Marion County, Alabama; and the center of Negro farm tenant operators had moved 42.5 miles west into Franklin County which adjoins Marion on the north.

It appears that from 1910 to 1930 Negroes followed cotton culture to the west across Western Texas into Arizona, New Mexico, and Southern California. The number in these three latter states was



MAP I. SHOWING CENTERS OF WHITE AND NEGRO POPULATION IN SOUTH, 1860, 1900, 1930

Kalb County, in the northeastern part of Alabama. Thirty years later the center of white farm owner operators had moved southwest 11.1 miles and was located in DeKalb County, Alabama; and the center of Negro farm owner operators had moved west 20.4 miles into Jackson County, Alabama, which adjoins DeKalb on the west.

The center of white tenant farm operators in 1900 was located in Morgan County, Alabama, which is in the middle of the northern part of the State. The center of Negro farm tenant operators at this time

small, but in Texas from 1920 to 1930 there was a 10,000 increase in the number of Negro tenants. This increase was particularly in the Panhandle and other sections of Western Texas.

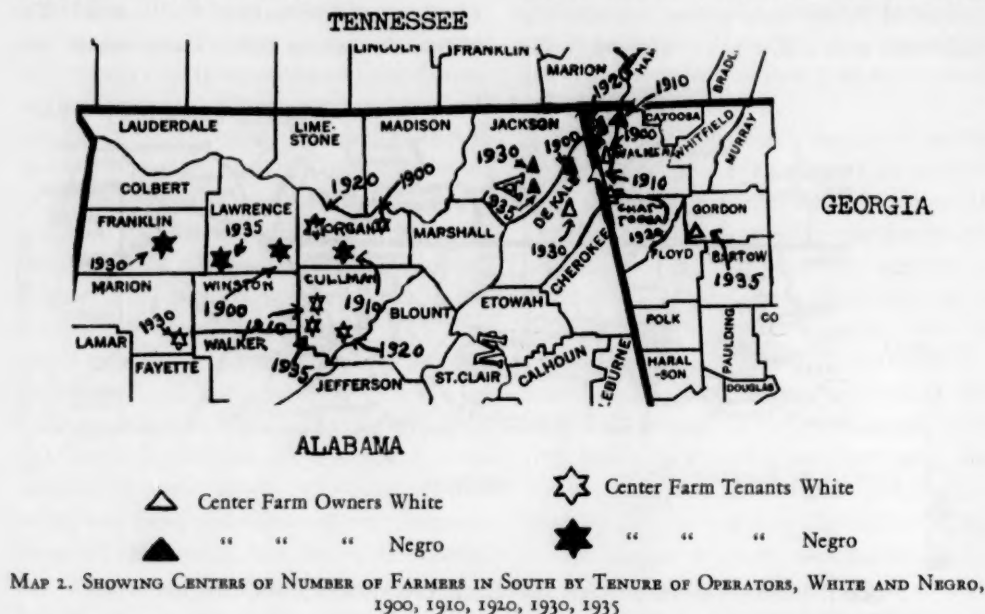
In the depression period 1930-1935, the movement of the centers of white and Negro farm operators was eastward, and was proportionately greater than for the thirty year period 1900-1930. The centers of both white and Negro farm owner operators moved southeast. The former, 40.4 miles and the latter 7.2 miles. The center of white tenant farm operators

moved 34.9 miles north of east. The center of Negro tenant farm operators moved 11.5 miles south of east.

It would appear that the operation of economic forces are very similar in their effects upon the movement of white and Negro population and white and Negro farm operators; and that the similarity in the direction of the movement of the centers of population and of farm operators, white and Negro, is due more to economic forces than to racial factors.

Racial Factors and Negro Land Ownership.

Since their emancipation Negroes have been able to buy land in practically every part of the South. As an evidence of this, we find that in 1875, ten years after the abolishing of slavery, the Negroes of Georgia were paying taxes on almost 400,000 acres of land, which was located in every county in the State. It is also true that over the years, Negroes have been able to acquire some of the most desirable land in the South. On the other



II

RACIAL FACTORS IN LAND TENURE

The foregoing discussions have dealt with trends in the distribution of the population and the distribution of farm operators. The similarity of the trends of white and Negro population and of the trends of white and Negro farm operators appear to indicate that forces, probably more economic than racial, have operated in these distributions. We pass now to a more direct consideration of the operation of racial factors in land tenure.

hand, it is found that the majority of farms owned by Negroes are small and are not located on the richest soils. In this connection it is to be noted that all small farms, whether owned by whites or Negroes are generally not on the best lands.

The racial factor enters with reference to particular localities in which Negroes may buy land. By this I mean that a Negro may experience no particular difficulty in purchasing a tract of land, but if he wishes to buy land in a white neighborhood, the chances are that he will experience difficulties and perhaps would not be

permitted to make the purchase. Thus the racial factor enters into the location of farms owned by Negroes throughout the South. The racial factor helps to explain why in past years the great majority of farms owned by Negroes were not situated on main highways, or otherwise prominently located. If a Negro's land came to a main highway, his house was probably not located there, or if it was, it was so unpretentious that it was often not distinguishable from the neighboring houses of Negro tenants. In this same connection, it is reported that there is not at the present time, any general tendency for Negro farmers, owners or tenants, to move from back sections on to the paved highways, which are becoming a net work throughout the South. The price of land on paved highways is also a factor here.

The racial factor is a cause of uncertainty in Negro land ownership. There is always present the danger that if at any time trouble should arise between a Negro land owner and a white person, the Negro may be forced to leave the community and lose his holdings altogether or be compelled to dispose of them at a great sacrifice. Again, some of the whites in the neighborhood may become envious of the prosperity of this Negro land owner and arbitrarily order him to leave the community. The above are the exceptions and not the rule; nevertheless, they constitute an important factor in Negro land ownership.

Another way that the racial factor enters into Negro farm ownership relates to land titles. It is to be noted in passing that this is not so much a racial matter, as an ignorant, a poor man's matter, be he white or black. Many thousand acres of land purchased by Negroes have, in the course of time, been lost because proper titles were not acquired.

Much of the land purchased by Negroes

has been by the bond-for-title method. This, in effect, is a contract between the seller and the purchaser, which, when the purchaser has fulfilled certain stipulations with reference to payments, he will receive a deed to the land. Many an ignorant Negro because of its legal phraseology has considered his bond-for-title as an actual deed. The holder of the bond-for-title becomes the nominal owner of the tract of land and agrees to pay all subsequent taxes and assessments thereon. If at any time, however, before the expiration of the time limit for the completion of the payments the purchaser defaults in his payments, the land reverts to the original owner. What the would-be purchaser has paid on the land, is credited to him as rent. This bond-for-title method of purchasing land, which is not confined to the Negro, is much more profitable to the seller than to execute a deed and take a mortgage. Under the bond-for-title procedure as contrasted with mortgage foreclosure, there is less expense incurred by the original owner to regain possession of the land.

Still another way that the racial factor enters into land ownership, is in the matter of mortgages. I made an inquiry concerning the extent to which Negro Insurance Companies and banks held mortgages on land owned by Negroes. It was found that only two Negro Insurance Companies held any amount of farm land mortgages. The Universal Life Insurance Company of Memphis, Tennessee reported mortgages on some 900 acres; the North Carolina Mutual Insurance Company at Durham reported mortgages on 2,468 acres; The Mechanics and Farmers Bank, a subsidiary of the North Carolina Mutual, held mortgages on 2,500 acres. Thus, it appears that Negro Insurance Companies and banks hold mortgages on not more than 6,000 acres of land.

According to the 1930 Census, 3,157-969 acres of land owned by colored farmers in the South were mortgaged. It appears that with a negligible exception, all mortgages on Negro farm lands in the South are held by white Insurance Companies, banks, and other agencies. When, therefore, Negroes through failure to acquire proper titles, failure to complete bond-for-title payments, or through mortgage foreclosure lose farms, these farms pass over to the white group. This accounts in a large measure for some of the decreases in Negro land ownership, particularly, in a depression time such as we are now experiencing.

Racial Factors in Negro Tenancy. So much has been written about Negro tenants that perhaps it is only necessary here to summarize the main facts concerning their conditions. They are in general ignorant; a large proportion of them are sharecroppers; they are more or less at the mercy of their landlords. The legal attitudes toward tenancy are on the basis of race. It is dangerous for a Negro tenant to sue his landlord for non-settlement, and in some instances, to even consider doing this.

Negro farmers, owners and tenants, pay a higher average rate of interest than white farmers. The 1930 Agricultural Census reports that the ratio charges to debt for white operators was 6.11 per cent; for colored operators, 7.2 per cent. It is found that in general, Negro tenants pay a higher rent than white tenants. For example, Brannen in his study of *Relation of Land Tenure to Plantation Organization* found that Negro tenants who paid cash rent averaged 10.3 per cent of the value of the land. Whites in the same districts paid cash rents that averaged only 6.9 per cent of the value of the land.⁴

⁴ Brannen, C. O. "Relation of Land Tenure to Plantation Organization." U. S. D. A. Bul. No. 1269, 1924.

It is also pointed out in the Boeger-Goldenweiser Studies⁵ that landlords can make more money when they rent land on some system of shares. We have then discrimination against the Negro in crop settlements, lien laws, rates of interest, rent charges, and more important than any of these, the regulations compelling him to "keep his place."

Origin Present Agricultural System. The South, in January 1866, found itself facing the necessity of making arrangements to produce crops during the coming season. The late masters and the late slaves entered into agreements. The former as landlords, were to furnish the land, tools, and food; the latter as tenants, were to furnish the labor necessary to produce the crops. This landlord-tenant arrangement was to meet an emergency. There is no evidence to indicate that anyone supposed that an agricultural system was being set up in the South, which, with practically no change, would continue until the present day. The basis of this system is share-cropping.

Until recently, the problem of tenancy in the South was generally thought of in terms of the Negro. The fact was ignored that a system of tenancy based on share-cropping and devised for Negroes had been extended to include white tenants. In the past the tendency has been to ignore the increase in the number of white farm tenants in the South. When the 1935 Census Report on Agriculture showing a decrease in Negro tenants and an increase in white tenants, was issued, the major part of the discussions concerning tenancy in 1935 related to the decrease in the number of Negro tenants rather than the notable increase in the number of white tenants. The explanation was that some of the Negro tenants had become farm laborers and others had moved to urban centers.

⁵ Boeger, E. H. and Goldenweiser, A. E. "A Tenant System of Farming in the Yazoo Mississippi Delta." U. S. D. A. Bul. No. 337, 1916.

A striking feature of land tenure had been the growth of white tenancy in the Cotton Areas. This growth is shown in the contrast between the number of tenants, white and Negro, in the cotton areas in 1900 and in 1935. In 1900, there were 27,467 more Negro farm tenants in the cotton states than white tenants. The number of white farm tenants was 488,108; the number of Negro farm tenants was 515,575. Thirty-five years later, that is in 1935, the cotton states had 224,709 more white farm tenants than Negro farm tenants. The number of white farm tenants was 814,583. The number of Negro farm tenants was 589,874. Over the thirty-five year period the percentage increase of white tenants ranged from 47.2 per cent in Texas to 130.9 per cent in Mississippi.

Racial Factors Versus Economic Forces. Racial factors are ever present in any effort to improve the agricultural situation in the South. A great deal is being written at the present time and plans are being

devised for improving the lot of farm tenants.

The racial factor, as between white and Negro tenants, enters to hinder and retard efforts for improvement. In the tenant problem we have the paradox of the emphasis upon the superiority, socially and politically, of the white tenants over the black tenants, and yet at the same time, an agricultural system that economically subjects the white tenants to the same requirements and conditions in meeting contracts and advances as are imposed upon the Negro tenants.

We have here a situation in which both the racial factors and the economic forces are operating. The racial factors are endeavoring to maintain differences based on race, while at the same time, economic forces which are more or less impersonal, are operating to place on the same level all of the individuals in a particular class regardless of race.

NATIONAL STUDENTS' SOCIOLOGICAL CONFERENCE

Miss Bessie E. Browne of the University of Missouri, President of The National Students' Sociological Conference, 1936, extends greetings to all students of sociology, both graduate and undergraduate, and urges them to attend the Conference which, this year, will be held in connection with the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society, in Chicago, December 28 to 30, 1936. Miss Browne writes:

The student meeting will convene for two sessions, December 28 and 29 in the morning. This gives the remainder of the time for students to hear programs of The American Sociological Society and to see places of interest in Chicago. A very interesting program of papers and research projects and other activities is being planned. In addition to the main program of papers and projects, the contacts with other students of sociology, and the splendid opportunity of attending sessions of The American Sociological Society and hearing and meeting the outstanding leaders in the field of sociology, there are other plans to make your trip to the conference very much worth while. A committee is making arrangements for a tour of the University of Chicago and of the places in Chicago which will prove of vital interest to students of sociology. There is, of course, the students' annual luncheon which every student will want to attend. The registration fee for the Conference is \$1.00.

It is the wish of the officers and committee that the conference be representative of the interests of all sociology students. We are very eager that students of sociology, members of Alpha Kappa Delta, and sociology clubs have a part in the conference. It is yours and the success of it depends upon the interested cooperation of each one. We are planning to make the conference of the utmost value to all sociology students. I shall welcome any suggestions and will be pleased to hear from each student.

TEACHING AND RESEARCH IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

TEACHING SOCIOLOGY IN COLLEGES AND HIGH SCHOOLS*

I. AIMS IN THE TEACHING OF SOCIOLOGY¹

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THE sociologist as a teacher can legitimately pursue only such aims as are logically implied in his methodological standpoint. If his basic assumptions are strictly those of natural science, his only obligation *as a teacher* is to communicate a body of objectively observed and quantitatively verified data about interhuman relationships. He has no concern, *in his professional capacity*, with either the human significance of his data or the *Weltanschauung* of his students.

But a second methodological standpoint is assumed in this paper. Sociology is here viewed as an impartial, scholarly investigation of the social process, which consists of human organisms interacting within a geographical environment, in the course of which they develop culture and integrate personalities. It is, therefore, a synthetic science, employing all data, objective and subjective, that are

relevant to its problems, and utilizing all logical methods, quantitative and qualitative, that are available for their solution. The teaching aims implicit in this methodological standpoint are:

1. To stimulate the student to integrate the data and insights acquired from the physical, biological, psychological, and social sciences for the light they throw upon the processes of human association, and thus enable him to envision the unity of all knowledge as it converges on the fundamental problems of human living together.

2. To provide the basic facts relating to man's group life, and to train the student in the methods of critical analysis and interpretation necessary to valid judgments upon social processes and the ends they serve. This implies that sociology is concerned with social values as well as with social mechanisms, that it can provide social guidance as well as social techniques, and that it can contribute to social wisdom as well as to social knowledge.

3. To train the student in methods competent to deal scientifically with collective behavior in all its aspects. Every social act exists in part in an external world of interhuman relationships, and in part "inside the skins" of those who participate in it. A sociology incapable of deal-

* The editors of *SOCIAL FORCES* are indebted to the authors, Professors Howard E. Jensen, D. G. Scott, Harold D. Meyer, and Louis A. Guessaz, for their courtesy in adapting their papers for publication, in order that they might be presented here as a unit. The papers were read in full at the meeting of the Southern Sociological Society, Atlanta, Georgia, April 17-19, 1936.

¹ This paper is being published in more extended form in the *American Journal of Sociology* for January, 1937.

ing with the latter or subjective aspects of the social act gives a partial and truncated view of collective behavior, and furnishes only a superficial understanding of its nature.

4. To encourage students to participate in the social situations they study, and to study the situations in which they participate. Some sociologists, Pareto among them, insist that this makes accurate observation impossible, but the experience of the field anthropologists demonstrates the opposite. Malinowski discovered that his field notes on the Kula natives remained dead material until he had assimilated their culture through sympathetic participation in it. Only then was he able to penetrate the imponderabilia of actual life, to transcend the superficial registration of details, and to penetrate the mental attitudes expressed by them. He found that his data must be understood, not merely as observed facts, but as felt experiences.

5. To direct the attention of students to the scientific study of the problems that promise to be of the most practical significance in the immediate future. This savors of an ameliorative interest, and is opposed by pure sociologists on the ground that its presence in the researches of sociol-

ogists "destroys the possibility of achieving the mood, methods and results of science," but they have never demonstrated that this is invariably or necessarily so. An inspection of cases indicates that sociologists are rather less inclined than are their physical science colleagues to advance and promote social panaceas. A sociologist who turns to research upon a practical problem basic to human guidance may, indeed, he often has, produced results which merely support the intended application, but if so, the fault is not with his problem, but with himself. If he is incapable of following a research problem through impartially to the end, he had better abandon science or relearn it, this time from some one who has demonstrated his technical competence, his mental integrity, and his moral courage.

If southern sociologists will pursue these aims in their teaching and demonstrate their fruitfulness in their practice, they may, in the terms of President Krueger's letter of March fifth calling this meeting, "have a hand, through teaching and research, in the changes which impend." But first they must think their way through to a methodological standpoint which will give these aims a valid logical grounding in principle.

II. PRINCIPLES OF EDUCATION AND THE TEACHING OF SOCIOLOGY

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Probably no other formulation has wrought more far-reaching changes in the teaching-learning process than the principle that all learning comes through the activity of the learner. It should be noted at the outset that the term activity as it is employed in this connection may be intellectual, emotional, or physical, or yet all these in their natural combinations.

When we say, therefore, that in order to learn, the learner must react, experience, practice, be active, we mean that he must think, feel, or do something. This means that what the *student* does is more important than what is done *to* him: that, in fact, the only purpose for doing anything to him is to get *him* to do something. For when he does something, he grows;

and his growth is in the direction of his doing. Good teaching, therefore, stimulates, suggests, presents opportunities, harmonizes conflicts, corrects fallacies, guides, and waits upon student reaction.

This condition, taxing as it does every power of the teaching art to bring it about, lays especially heavy toll upon patience. It calls for patience of a peculiar sort—one that is mixed with many other ingredients. It requires a patience which, though alive to every element in the situation and both wise and skillful enough to draw out the right student response, is willing at the same time to stand aside enough to give that response room to come out and be itself. Suppose, for example, that the main objective of a given class meeting is to arrive at the truth concerning the material assigned. Then to wait upon student reaction indeed may delay the arrival. It would be much easier perhaps for the teacher himself to cover the material, proceeding ahead of the students, doing most of the reacting himself, solving the problems and arriving, thereby, at the truth much quicker. In which instance we would have truth arrived-at-by-the-teacher. But merely to have truth arrived-at-by-the-teacher is not the end. It is, rather, to have truth arrived-at-by-the-learner. There is a vast difference in these two sets of affairs. When the arrival is made, the big question is, "are the learners all present?" Not merely truth, nor yet truth for the teacher, but truth for the learner is the object sought. Patient guidance, timely suggestion, genuine enthusiasm and skillful questioning are required to bring about this arrival. The procedure must not do violence to the fact that true learning cannot come faster than student reaction can produce it. The good teacher, therefore, does not do all the reacting; he gets the student to do it.

This line of analysis would seem to lead rather definitely to the conclusion that the problem-discussion type of class meeting is more to be stressed than the lecture.

In the second place the *kind* of activity the learner engages in determines the kind of learning which follows. What is learned, in other words, will be like what is practiced. Like begets like just as surely in the educative process as in the biological process. "If it is a skill we are considering," says Kilpatrick,¹ "we must practice the skill. So with an emotional response. So with an appreciation. Whatever the behavior, if it is to be learned, it must be exercised."¹ A student engaged simply in the recall of facts cannot thereby be expected to acquire the ability to think straight any more than one would expect by sowing oats to reap barley. If he learns to think straight, it will be from the exercise of straight thinking and not from the exercise of some other type of behavior. If initiative be one of our goals, then we shall have to induce the student to practice initiative. If intellectual honesty be an aim of our teaching, in order to attain it we shall have to lead the student in the practice of intellectual honesty. If the power to observe and analyse social phenomena be our goal, or the ability to appraise, or the ability and the desire to search for the truth, whatever the learning we set as the goal of our teaching, if the student is to attain it, he must participate in the practice of that specific behavior. Furthermore, these activities must be attended with satisfaction to the learner lest we turn out of our classrooms a product *able* to search for the truth, *able* to think straight, *able* to analyse and evaluate, but having no desire to do it.

¹ W. H. Kilpatrick, Twenty-sixth yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, 1926, Part 11, p. 122.

This leads us to our third consideration, namely the value of a good assignment. It is obvious that the procedure thus indicated calls for an assignment carefully planned by the instructor and fully understood by the student. It is by the assignment that we pave the way for vitalized student activity. The importance of it justifies that due consideration be given the essentials by which it is made effective.

A good assignment cannot be given in the last two minutes of the class period nor can it be expressed in terms of so many pages in a certain book. It should set specific tasks formulated so as to reflect the aims of the instruction under question and stated so as to make the student feel a need for their accomplishment.

It is well that our chairman today planned to have this discussion preceded by the aims of sociology teaching. For while a class meeting is likely to fail in educational results unless it is backed by a good assignment, a good assignment can likewise hardly be expected unless it is backed up by a clear conception of the aims which the teacher has in mind. Much space has been given in educational literature setting forth the importance of an assignment which is definite, challenging, stimulating, based upon clearly conceived goals, connected with what has gone before, and flexible enough to provide for differences in individuals. An unexplored phase of assignment making, however, is represented in the formulation of problems to be solved. Interest is aroused when a real problem arises. It should be noted that a topic is not a problem. An outline is not a problem. A question *may* not be a problem. A problem arises when there is a conflict between what is and what one would like it to be. A problem is presented when there is an alternative to take. It is a conflict between action based on one set of standards

and action based on another. This element of conflict is the key to the effectiveness of the problem as a device in stimulating activity. Suppose, for example, in a class in social problems we wish to make an assignment on poverty. There would be no problem if I simply ask among other things, "What are the causes of poverty?" With no situation presented whereby the student *needs to know* the causes of poverty, he may go about the task saying inwardly, "who wants to know?" But if we set ourselves to the task of finding how society should deal with poverty, we have a problem situation. Then, to determine the extent of poverty, the cause of it, and to appraise the various principles involved in relief and other related questions would constitute our sub-problems and sub-topics. These data would be needed by the student in order to deal intelligently with the centralizing problem situation stated above. A field trip to observe and analyze specific cases of poverty at first-hand would add interest and challenge to the assignment.

In summing up we may say a good assignment is definite, thorough, based on clearly conceived goals, contains specific references, presents problems, and by thought-provoking questions and exercises challenges the student to sustained mental endeavor.

Finally, it has been said that teaching skill culminates in the art of questioning. Despite the degree of truth in this statement, the possibilities of the question in stimulating and guiding the activity of the class have been too little realized. In discussing the characteristics of good questioning, Stevens lists among others the following essentials: (1) The question should be clearly stated—direct, free from parenthetical clauses. (2) It should definitely describe the task. Questions introduced by "What about" are common of-

fenders of this principle. (3) It should be asked the whole group before the person who is to answer it is designated. (4) The teacher should not insist upon a predetermined answer.²

With this brief mention of a few of the essentials which are thought to be applicable to our field, let us turn to the child for a lesson in the use of the question. Even the college professor has much to learn from this past-master in the questioning art. His questions are spontaneous, thought-provoking, introduced by "why" and "how" and one of them leads always to another. The secret back of his art especially from which we may take a cue is the fact that he asks because he *really wants to know*. We ask in order merely to find out if the *student* knows. There is a vast difference in the social interaction attending these two techniques.

If for example we ask merely for the purpose of testing whether or not the student knows a given point, we tend to create a conflict as it were between teacher and student in which the teacher is trying to reveal the student's ignorance and the student is trying to conceal it. He feels that he is on the spot. He hedges. He thinks of saying what would best suit the teacher.

² Stevens, *The Question as a Measure of Efficiency in Instruction-Contribution to Education*—48. Columbia University.

Suppose, on the other hand, we ask because we *want to know*. And, suppose further that by asking in this natural way we exhibit an attitude which seems to the student to say, "You have made observation, you have a good mind, you have a viewpoint. It may be better than mine. Let us reason together for mutual benefit." If this feeling prevails and the question is otherwise properly framed, the student is induced to practice intellectual integrity. He is unafraid. He is free to practice the formulation of his ideas. He is thus led out into full intellectual fellowship. His thinking is inspired by the feeling that he is giving information which someone *wants to know* and is thereby contributing his bit to the discovery of truth. Instead, therefore, of a testing game merely to see who knows what, the procedure becomes an honest, wholehearted search for light.

SUMMARY

In summing up we may say that the following implications are indicated from the educational principles herein set forth:

1. There should be more emphasis upon vitalized discussion in the college classroom and a corresponding decrease in time given to lecture.
2. A well-planned assignment characterized by challenging problems is of paramount importance.
3. The teacher may well employ the thought-provoking, questioning attitude of the child who asks because he wants to know.

III. THE CORRELATION OF THE TEACHING OF SOCIOLOGY IN HIGH SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES

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The past five years have witnessed a rapid growth of sociology as a curriculum subject in the secondary schools of the southern Region. The subject is offered and taught in many of the high schools in every state of the region. The state superintendents of public instruction believe that sociology has a definite place in the secondary curriculum and will continue to expand. Leading high school principals attest to the increasing and enthusiastic interest of their students in the subject. Teachers of education assert its growing influence in the curriculum. Professors of sociology in our southern universities, colleges, and normal schools overwhelmingly agree that it should have a definite place. In the face of these facts and opinions, not a state within the region at this time is certifying teachers for sociology, and very little is being done to prepare teachers of the subject. There is general disagreement as to the course content, and departments of sociology, at this stage of the game, have done little to aid the secondary school situation one way or the other.

These and many other related points of interest are the result of a study of sociology in the secondary schools of the southern Region. All the state superintendents of public instruction, about one hundred selected high school principals, a representative group of heads of schools and departments of education, along with one hundred professors of sociology responded to the study.

Looming out of the study are three clear problems: First, there is general confusion as to course content for sociology in secondary schools; second, for the most part,

teachers of the subject in the high schools of the region are woefully lacking in preparation—the present plan of certification does not recognize the subject, and little has been done to prepare properly trained teachers; third, departments of sociology in our universities and colleges have not and are not at the present time giving their support to this movement in any appreciable way.

The whole situation is relatively new and in the making. Here is an opportunity for pioneering in social engineering. It is an opportunity for the Southern Sociological Society and the departments of sociology within the region to assume leadership in the promotion of sociology in secondary education. Whatever the immediate trends are will largely depend on what steps we take. Frankly, it is up to us—we can build aright as we see it, or we can blame no one but ourselves for future difficulties. Therefore, may we offer the following definite recommendations for consideration:

1. That the Southern Sociological Society recognize the growth and place of sociology in secondary education and appoint a committee to study the situation in detail.

2. That the Society and the departments of sociology within the region work in co-operation with state superintendents of public instruction and departments of education in building up a proper basis of certification for teachers of sociology.

3. That the committee study course content for sociology courses in secondary schools, attempting to give to the high schools the best concepts of approach.

4. That the Society and the departments

of sociology give to the high schools within their vicinity specific aids in the direction of their work and bring about an effective correlation with the teaching of sociology in the high schools and colleges.

5. That the Society work in close relationship with various national committees in the field of social studies and the social

sciences within secondary education and the colleges.

6. That the Society and the departments of sociology definitely work out plans to develop the best type of teacher training work within the colleges, so as to bring into the field of secondary education trained and competent teachers.

IV. THE SOCIAL STUDIES IN THE P. K. YONGE LABORATORY SCHOOL¹

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What shall we do to prepare our students for their future as citizens of our national community? We may well guess that they will face a more integrated, a more complex, perhaps a more coöperative, society than ours of today. We can not know what form society will take. We can be certain only that the young people of today will have to meet the unexpected. They will suffer from it unless they learn, *here and now*, not only how to deal with facts and ideas, old and new, with courage and an open mind, but also how to participate more efficiently in the solving of social problems; how to make the necessary adjustments in a changing world with the minimum of waste motion and social cost; and, perhaps most important of all, how to *make* their place in a "hard-boiled" civilization.

How can we as social studies teachers help these young people meet the demands of an ever changing society? By showing them how men in the past met conditions which are likely to recur is not enough. History does not repeat itself! It must be admitted that no single teacher,

nor any small group of teachers, is as yet fitted to determine exactly what materials, procedures, methods, and information are best suited to meet the requirements of the new order, for we have few precedents on which to rely; we can only use our best judgment, try out the product, revise and go on experimenting. There will never be a "fixed" social studies curriculum; it must change as rapidly as is necessary to meet the demands of a rapidly changing society.

Perhaps one of the greatest handicaps in the building of a new social studies program and, yes, in the functioning of one, lies in the subject-matter-mindedness of the teachers who attempt the task. This problem is almost inevitable, since the teachers of today were educated under and have taught in the subject-matter curricula of yesterday; and it has proved very difficult for them to overcome this fundamental bias.

To bring a geography teacher to admit that most of her units will in a large measure be based on social concepts as well as on geographical concepts is a difficult thing to do; but to persuade her to surrender some of the "essential facts" and supplant them with the conception

¹ At the time this paper was prepared, the author was in the P. K. Yonge Laboratory School, University of Florida.

that it is children rather than subject-matter which should be taught is, sometimes, next to the impossible.

Similarly, the history teacher is faced with the need of giving up some of her "subject-matter meat" to make room for contributions from the long neglected "fine art of living"; of skimming over the details of Greek city-state governments in order to give more attention to the pressing need of present political and economic reform; of slighting the Punic Wars, the campaigns of Napoleon, and the various theories of secession, in favor of the crying want of information concerning, for example, "Consumer Education." In brief, the old criterion of teaching, "the armchair" method of "keeping school," has to be discarded or modified in light of the new order. Today school is not merely a preparation for living; *it is living!*

As conceived by the Social Studies Committee, the program of the Social Studies in the Laboratory School attempts to take into consideration the child's experiences, interests, and needs. These are given precedence over organized subject matter in ancient, mediaeval, and modern history, as well as in American history and civics, *per se*.

In the building of this program, the first step was the reviewing of the tentative objectives of the Laboratory School as set up by the Planning Program, the general aim being to "contribute to wholesome individual and group living in any situation." Tentative objectives for the Social Studies were formulated in harmony with the general aims of the school and in the spirit with which a great many of the newer objectives are stated.

Individual members of the committee made a rather intensive study of authorities in different fields, and compiled from

this study lists of common persistent social problems. As a check in determining whether or not these persistent problems actually represented the areas of interests found in society, they were grouped in accord with six overlapping major phases as described by the sociologist, Albion W. Small. They are: (1) the health interests and activities; (2) the wealth or economic-vocational interests and activities; (3) the rightness, or ethical-religious interests and activities; (4) the aesthetic or recreational enjoyment interests and activities; (5) the intellectual, or knowledge, or mental interests and activities; and, (6) the social or distinctly group interests and activities.

In formulating the program for a year, an attempt is made to provide for all these phases, either in separate units or in cross-section activities of several units. In this way a provision is made for mastery of the established fundamentals, and at the same time opportunities for the experiencing of a great many things, overlooked when subject matter alone determines the program, are provided for. First of all the primary concern is the needs of the children, and the curriculum is directed in accord with these needs.

Next, the children in grades 10, 11, and 12 were studied. This was done by examining individual application blanks which had been presented before admission to the school; by examining data from different types of standardized tests; from individual conference records; from curriculum reports filed in the office of the dean and director of the school; and, finally, from actual experience with the children, which gave an opportunity to discover interests and needs at various grade levels.

The details of a given unit are developed and the actual directing done by the social studies teacher best qualified for the par-

ticular unit, but the teacher in charge may be assisted by any teacher on the faculty when desirable.

In order to illustrate how the plan for the social studies is working in the Laboratory School, an actual unit which was taught at the beginning of the year will be developed. The unit is "Consumer Education," and the objectives are as follows: (1) To lead to a knowledge and appreciation of some of the ways in which a consumer can test the quality of goods; (2) To further the ability to distinguish between truth and propaganda; (3) To engender a critical attitude towards advertising; and, (4) To acquaint the students with helpful agencies assisting consumer education.

The particular group in which the unit was taught was a class in Social Studies 12 or Problems of American Life and History, and consisted of some twenty-five boys and girls in grades 11 and 12. The unit ran for a period of about four weeks.

After a general background and orientation of the unit had been presented a number of sources of information were outlined briefly. Several periods were given over for discussion, reading, and conferences under the supervision of the instructor and the librarian, and then students were asked to choose "phases" of the problem for special investigation. Instruction when needed was given for the gathering and handling of data. These were organized and presented to the group in the form of a "study report," which contained footnotes to references, illustrations, original or clipped, charts, tables, and other means of presentation. A student usually led the discussion while the instructor aided the group in formulating generalizations, summarizations, and conclusions.

Evaluation of the unit was based on a

number of considerations. The fact that the students had selected the unit themselves gave a great amount of self-motivation, which stimulated self-activity. This was supplemented and guided by class procedure under the direction of the teacher.

During the investigations, many students were asked to write for materials from various places. This material has been collected and now forms a definite part of the social studies files which can be used for future reference.

Mastery of materials discussed was tested by means of an objective activity in which the students were asked to make comparisons, draw conclusions, summarize, and generally organize the findings or learnings of the study.

It is interesting to note a few of the fields of knowledge which were necessary for an understanding of the unit. First, students had to secure the background of the problem. In order to do this it was necessary to go back into *history* and trace the beginnings and development of the need of consumer education. In making tests of certain foods and goods it was necessary to bring in *science*. The science teacher was asked to work out several experiments for the testing of certain materials, and then a committee from the class performed the experiments before the group. *English*, both oral and written, was necessary for the discussion and the preparation of the reports and in writing for materials; *economics*, in wise buying; *civics*, in government regulations of sale of products; *sociology*, in the welfare of society and the need of consumer education; the *arts* and *psychology*, in the attractive displays and advertisements; *health*, in the need for more strict regulation.

Thus, can be noted some of the fields of knowledge which were "tapped" for a better understanding of the problem of

consumer education. An alert teacher will not miss the opportunity to make use of the materials about her, in the room, in the building, in the school plant, in the community. The furniture, the lighting and heating systems, the blackboards, the chairs and desks, the very tools which are used in the social studies, will be excellent means for teaching, for example, the "Industrial Revolution." Near the school is a small branch, which runs through a wooded area; the science teacher

calls this his most valuable laboratory and uses it almost as much in the teaching of the new science as he does the laboratory in the building.

What is the test of a good unit? How can teachers discover when there has been some progress in helping the child *make* his own place in society? The test seems to be in the actual solving of problems. How many of the things taught in our classes can actually be used in everyday life, *here and now*!

FAMILY LIFE CYCLE ANALYSIS*

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THE interest in the analysis of the changing social and economic activities of families at various periods in their existence has been increasing in the last few years. Most of the more recent special studies in this field have been of rural families, and the objectives, methods of study, and interpretations of results have differed greatly.¹ The behavior of the city family as compared with the rural family as it passes through the respective phases of existence differs fundamentally. Likewise, research has shown that, as would be expected, in different agricultural regions where different types

of farming and different modes of living prevail, the activities of families at given stages in their historical existence vary. The life-cycle analysis of family living has opened up an important field in the method of family study. Since "particularist" families in Western Culture may be said to have somewhat similar sociological forms even though varying in other respects in different rural and urban situations, the life cycle analysis of these families as conditioned by different social, economic, and biological conditions in various rural and urban situations offers an important mode of comparison.²

* Note on the comparison of the life cycle of families by the cross-section as compared with the historical method as illustrated by Negro tenant and cropper families in Halifax County, North Carolina.

¹ A summary of these studies is presented in the following paper: Charles P. Loomis, "The Study of the Life Cycle of Families." Paper prepared for the Twelfth International Congress of Sociology, Brussels, August 25-29, 1935. Paper on abstract to appear in the Proceedings.

² See Charles P. Loomis, "The Growth of the Farm Family in Relation to its Activities," North Carolina Agricultural Experiment Station, June, 1934, Raleigh, North Carolina. This is a summary and redivision of a Ph.D. thesis, finished in 1933. The summary was made under the direction of Dr. Carle C. Zimmerman in the Department of Sociology at Harvard University. For empirical purposes of procedure four stages in the life cycle of the family were delimited. These stages somewhat resemble and are based upon those of Prof. P. Sorokin.

Generally speaking, the life cycle of a family begins with the marriage of man and wife and ends with the death of both husband and wife if there are children who out-live either husband and wife. In case there are no children or the children die before the death of either parent the cycle ends with the death of one parent. It is essential that the concept of the family be one of a social group, the important units of which extend to include no more than two generations. The cycle includes parents and children and does not refer to the life cycle of a family made up of many generations carrying the same or different names. Many times grandparents and grandchildren and other relatives or persons are members of the family studied, but are only considered as extra members which belong to a family unit, the nucleus of which is made up of one or both parents.

There are numerous difficulties which arise in the study of family life cycles.³ Probably the chief difficulty to be overcome is the fact that there are few data which portray the actual life history of families giving important social, biological, and economic data in detail. One can seldom secure all the desired data from existing special studies, genealogies and biographies.

It is for this reason that few of the most important statistical studies of family cycles have been made of life cycles by use of the *historical* analysis. For example, a large number of families in a given society, which began their existence in a given year, has not been historically analyzed for the purpose of determining the average length of time between successive births; the average length of time from the date of marriage and when children begin to leave home; the average

length of time between the time the first child leaves home and the second, third, fourth, fifth, and so forth; and the age range of children and the average number of children in the home at successive intervals in the existence of the family. Neither have these factors and others involved in family growth and waning been related *historically* to other social and economic factors such as: for example, the acres farmed by farm families. A makeshift method has been resorted to and families of different ages have been studied at one time and these families fitted into a life cycle. Naturally, this cross-section analysis differs from an historical analysis. For instance, if one were studying four phases in the life cycle of the family, and a cross-section study of the population is made, information is secured about family composition and related social and economic factors at the time of interview. Each completed schedule contains data pertaining to the family interviewed and relates to a certain definite date. The facts collected give no true historical description of each individual family. If the data are gathered for, say, four hundred families with one hundred in each of four different stages which have been defined, in the cross-section analysis each of the four groups of one hundred families would be typical in size and age composition and should represent the given phase in the life cycle. A different procedure would be to study the life cycle of one hundred families tracing each through its historical development. Since conditions may change as time passes the two modes of analysis may yield different results.

The chief reasons why at the present time the two methods may be expected to yield different results are two in number:⁴

³ Many of these difficulties are discussed in the references listed in the above footnotes.

⁴ See a discussion of the difficulties involved in analyzing the average changes in mental traits as persons mature by studying persons selected at ran-

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(1) The secular trend of factors in the social, economic, and even biological life of the family has changed tremendously in the last two generations. Thus in America the young parents in the cross-section study have had more education than had the older groups of parents. Many of the parents in families used to represent the last stage of the family life cycle in the cross-section analysis could not have gone to public school since there were few public schools when they were of school age. Also there have been many other important changes. There have been such fundamental changes in family size and consumption in the last few generations that a study of the standards of living based upon the variation in the life cycle using the cross-section method would not be apt to be the same as the standard of living of families studied by the historical method.

(2) An element of selection enters when the cross-section method is used to represent the historical life cycle. If the life histories of 100 farm families all of which began their existence in the year 1870 were selected at random to be studied, it would be found that some families had passed out of existence because of deaths, divorce, separation or for other reasons. In addition some of the original 100 families would have shifted from the occupation of farming to some other occupation. If, at the present time, a great many farm families from exactly the same area are selected at random and classified according to the age of the family, it may easily be seen that the cross-section data taken from a non-historical schedule cannot represent a real life cycle in the strict sense

of the word. No families which have changed their occupation from farming to some other are included and there is no means of including families which have for various reasons passed out of existence.

In general, it must be admitted that the historical method of analysis of the life cycle is impractical for most groups. Where no records are kept the inaccuracies due to errors in recalling and faulty memories are great especially when groups are asked to recall economic and social data in the distant past. Furthermore, the last stage of the life cycle cannot be studied by questioning the father and mother since obviously these persons would be dead if the last stage were completed. At any rate these two methods should be compared if possible.

TEST ANALYSIS COMPARING THE HISTORICAL AND CROSS-SECTION METHODS OF STUDY

A house to house enumeration was made of 1,144 rural families in Enfield township, Halifax County, North Carolina. This township was selected for study because: (1) census data demonstrated its representativeness for the type of farming in the North Carolina Northern Coastal Plain; and (2) it was located in the heart of a large Negro cropper tenant area of North Carolina, the problems of which were being investigated. Of necessity such a sampling procedure involved securing a heterogeneous sample with owners, tenants, croppers, farm laborers, and others classified according to whether Negro or white. It has previously been proved that in this area stable data without great variability can be secured only by analyzing certain groups separately. Tenants and owners and Negroes and whites are usually analyzed separately. Although 1,144 schedules were secured, only a very small homogeneous group of families could be found with life cycles

dom with different ages at any one time in: E. L. Thorndike, *Educational Psychology*, Vol. III, *Mental Work and Fatigue and Individual Differences and their Causes*, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, 1925, pp. 270-280.

beginning at a single brief early period. The Negro cropper and tenant families were the only homogeneous group which might be used in the analysis. Other groups did not have a large enough number of families which could be analyzed historically. It was decided to include in the analysis only the following types of families:

1. Only families which at some time in their history have had children. Older no-child families were excluded in order that the relation between number of children and the amount of land operated might better be studied.
2. Only families with both original parents living and in the family. To have included other families

generalization of the results of the analysis of a sample to that of a universe. Because of the arbitrary qualifications, out of the available 75 Negro tenant and 242 Negro cropper families included in the original sample only 33 tenant and 122 cropper families could be retained for study.

The families used in the historical and cross-section analysis were selected on exactly the same basis. In fact the 14 families available for study by the historical method were taken from the total group of 155 Negro tenants and croppers. The chief difficulty in the analysis was that of finding a sufficiently large group of

TABLE I
FAMILY SIZE OF THE 155 NEGRO TENANT AND CROPPER FAMILIES USED IN THE ANALYSIS COMPARING THE HISTORICAL AND CROSS-SECTION METHOD, HALIFAX COUNTY, NORTH CAROLINA, 1934

FAMILIES	NUMBER OF FAMILIES	AVERAGE SIZE OF FAMILIES		STANDARD DEVIATION FROM AVERAGES		COEFFICIENT OF DISPERSION*	
		Including all children	Including all living children	For all children	For all living children	For all children	For all living children
Total group.....	155	8.2	7.4	3.27	2.89	39.99	38.84
Marriage, 1885-1909.....	44	10.1	8.9	3.36	3.00	33.11	33.70
Marriage, 1910-1934.....	111	7.4	6.8	2.87	2.62	38.73	38.33
Used for historical analysis, marriage, 1905-1909.....	14	11.4	10.3	2.97	3.25	26.13	31.56

* Coefficient of dispersion equals standard deviation divided by the arithmetic mean times 100.

would have obfuscated the comparison of the data studied by the historical and cross-section method.

3. Only farm families which have always farmed were included. The exclusion of families in which the father had at some time after marriage given up the occupation of farming was necessary because during the period when such families do not farm there is obviously no opportunity to study the relationship between the size of land holding and size of family—two factors which are important in this analysis.

The element of selection entering into the study because of this arbitrary exclusion of families is considerable. The method of selection here employed is only justified because emphasis is upon the comparison of two methods and not upon

families which began life cycles with marriage at an early period and within the same short time interval. The parents of the 14 families used in the comparison were married between 1905 and 1910. Probably the chief weakness in the analysis as here presented is to be found in the small number of families included in this group but data for other families forming a homogeneous group were not available (see Table I).

Tables II and III present factors related to the size and composition of the families and size of land unit operated analyzed by the historical and cross-section analysis.

Since the oldest of the families studied by the historical method began its life cycle only approximately 30 years ago the final stages of the life cycle could not be studied. In general, the biological factors indicat-

the life cycle which are available for comparison: the factor, the percentage of children over 14 years of age at home, varies most. The average number of individuals in the household between

TABLE II

HISTORICAL ANALYSIS PRESENTING DESCRIPTIVE DATA FOR FACTORS RELATED TO THE GROWTH OF 14 NEGRO TENANT AND COPPER FAMILIES FROM 1905 TO 1934, HALIFAX COUNTY, NORTH CAROLINA

NUMBER OF YEARS AFTER MARRIAGE	NUMBER OF CHILDREN AT HOME		PER CENT OF CHILDREN AT HOME 14 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER	AVERAGE NUMBER OF INDIVIDUALS IN HOUSEHOLD BETWEEN 10 AND 60 YEARS OF AGE, INCLUSIVE	AVERAGE ACRES OPERATED PER FAMILY	AVERAGE ACRES OPERATED PER INDIVIDUAL
	Average	Standard Deviation				
0-4.9	1.9	1.05		2.0	33.1	8.6
5-9.9	3.6	1.24	2.0*	2.2	33.3	5.9
10-14.9	5.4	1.66	9.3*	3.9	40.6	5.5
15-19.9	6.0	1.97	19.4	4.8	42.9	5.4
20-24.9	6.6	3.00	32.2	5.6	45.9	5.4
25-29.9	6.6	3.42	46.6	6.4	47.9	5.6

* Data used indicate that children were born previous to marriage of parents.

TABLE III

CROSS-SECTION ANALYSIS OF DATA FOR 153 NORTH CAROLINA NEGRO TENANT AND CROPPER FAMILIES PRESENTING FACTORS RELATED TO THE SIZE AND COMPOSITION OF FAMILY AND SIZE OF ACREAGE OPERATED CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO THE AGE OF THE FAMILY, HALIFAX COUNTY, NORTH CAROLINA

NUMBER OF YEARS AFTER MARRIAGE	DATE OF MARRIAGE	NUMBER OF FAMILIES*	NUMBER OF CHILDREN AT HOME		PER CENT OF CHILDREN AT HOME 14 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER	AVERAGE NUMBER OF INDIVIDUALS IN HOUSEHOLD BETWEEN 10 AND 60 YEARS OF AGE INCLUSIVE	AVERAGE ACRES OPERATED PER FAMILY	AVERAGE ACRES OPERATED PER INDIVIDUAL
			Average	Standard deviation				
0-4.9	1930-1934	13	1.5	0.72		2.5	21.2	6.0
5-9.9	1925-1929	29	3.7	1.40		2.3	28.0	4.9
10-14.9	1920-1924	29	4.7	1.58	0.7†	3.3	34.9	5.2
15-19.9	1915-1919	26	6.7	2.37	24.9	5.7	44.2	5.1
20-24.9	1910-1914	14	6.0	2.70	50.0	6.8	52.2	6.5
25-29.9	1905-1909	18	6.2	3.00	49.1	6.9	46.9	5.7
30-34.9	1900-1904	14	4.6	2.76	75.4	6.4	49.0	7.4
35-39.9	1895-1899	5	2.2	0.75	100.0	5.2	54.0	12.9
40-44.9	1890-1894	5	3.0	1.55	100.0	5.2	39.0	7.8

* Two families were omitted the parents of which were married between the years 1885 and 1889.

† Data used indicate that children were born previous to marriage of parents.

ing the size and age composition of the families analyzed by the two methods do not vary greatly. A comparison of the two modes of analysis shows that the factor, the number of children at home, varies least for the five-year periods in

the ages of 10 to 60 inclusive, analyzed according to the two methods, does not vary greatly.

Although there is considerable variation in the acreage data analyzed by the historical and cross-section method, it is

interesting to note that in both analyses during the first 25 years after marriage the average number of acres operated by the families increases steadily and is positively correlated with the average number of children at home, the percentage of these children over 14 years of age in the home, and the average number of individuals in the household between the ages of 10 and 60, inclusive. The data may be interpreted to indicate that the larger the working force of the family the greater will be the acreage operated. However, the average number of acres operated per individual decreases rapidly during the first 5-year period after marriage and thereafter either remains fairly constant or increases. It is unfortunate that data which would adequately describe the latter phases of the life cycle as described by the historical analysis are not available. The last two five-year intervals in the cross-section analysis exhibit the great fluctuations because of the relatively few cases. It is doubtful if the acreage data for these last two periods as shown in Table III are significant.

TIME INTERVALS BETWEEN BIRTHS

In the growth of the family the number of children born and the time interval between the births of these children is of fundamental importance. Since the spacing of births is related to important vital characteristics of the family, an analysis of old and young families which are being used for cross-section life cycle analysis should be compared in this respect. The average number of years between successive births and the standard deviations from these were computed for older families (which began with marriages from 1885 to 1909) younger families (which began with marriages from 1910 to 1934) and the families used in the historical analysis (which began with marriages

from 1905 to 1909). Separate calculations were made for *all* births and for births of individuals living at the time of the study.⁵ The data for all of the Negro cropper and tenant families were broken into these three smaller groups to test their homogeneity in respect to the spacing of births. Within the limits of the data one may conclude that the birth spacing in the older and younger families does not vary greatly. Since the historical analysis is generally applied to older families, it is probably well to study the historical secular trend of birth spacing and family size before relying upon a cross-section analysis to give a true picture of actual family cycles. Such a preliminary analysis can usually be made from most standard of living and other survey schedules which include age data of members of the family.⁶

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

The data here presented do not demonstrate that the cross-section method should never be applied in the study of family life cycles. Probably the less the secular trend in the biological factors indicative of the growth and waning of families the more comparable the historical and cross-section analysis will be. Immediately

⁵ One-child marriages were omitted from this calculation.

⁶ In the present study, an analysis of the birth spacing in white farm families selected, on the same basis as were the Negro tenant and cropper families, showed that there was greater variation in the intervals between births in the older and in the younger white families than was the case from the Negro tenant and cropper families studied. Also the families were smaller and the time intervals between both the births of children now living and all children were greater for the white farm families. This leads to the conclusion that the white families included in the study have been influenced more by social and economic changes than the Negro families. Other things being equal, the cross-section analysis should give a more accurate description of the real life cycle of these Negro farm families than of the white families.

after or during a great and sudden change in the birth or death rate one cannot expect to get a true historical picture of the life cycle of families by a cross-section

picture of the social and cultural activities of families in the generalized sense. As has been demonstrated, the coming of mechanized or commercial agriculture is not only associated with changes in the biological factors which make for the growth and waning of families passing through the life cycle but this event is also associated with a change in the manner in which the family adjusts its size to its land holding.⁷ Gradual or sudden urbanization of any rural area will also effect the adjustment which families make while passing through their life cycles.

Since our time is one of great change it is doubtful if there are many farm areas in the Western World where the cross-section method can give exactly a true picture of the life cycle of the farm family in the generalized sense. However, the comparative analysis here presented, even though supported by an insufficient number of cases, leads the authors to the conclusion that the cross-section method is useful in the analysis of family living data. In certain areas where there have been no great changes in social and biological factors affecting the family, a relatively accurate picture of the historical life cycle of the farm family may be secured by the make-shift method—the cross-section analysis.

⁷ Op. cit. First reference given in this note.

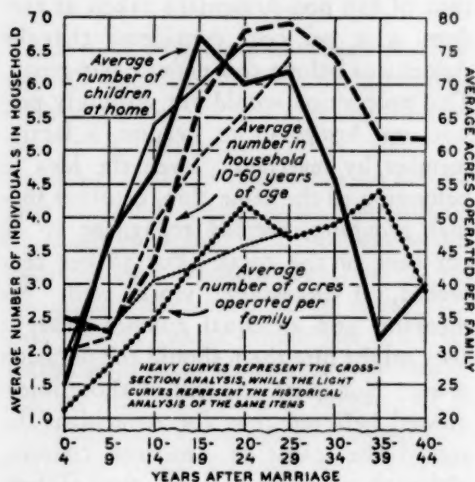


FIG. 1. CROSS-SECTION AND HISTORICAL ANALYSIS PRESENTING DATA DESCRIPTIVE OF THE SIZE AND COMPOSITION OF FAMILY AND SIZE OF LAND HOLDING OPERATED BY NEGRO TENANT AND CROPPER FAMILIES GROUPED BY FIVE-YEAR INTERVALS ACCORDING TO THE LENGTH OF TIME SINCE MARRIAGE, HALIFAX COUNTY, NORTH CAROLINA, 1934

The curves representing the historical analysis do not continue through the entire cycle because not enough old families were available for analysis.

analysis. It is also obvious that the greater the social and cultural changes in the lives of families the less apt the cross-section analysis is to give a true historical

TYPE-RATIONALIZATIONS OF GROUP ANTIPATHY

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I

THE historic factors which have made for the development of group antagonisms are often complex and difficult for the sociological investigator to evaluate. There is one source of evidence bearing on the origin of "racial" antipathy which can, I find, be quite generally disregarded. This source is the explanation given by the members of an in-group for their antipathy towards the members of an out-group. Such an explanation is more in the nature of a justification than a reason and is far more likely to operate as a red herring drawn across the investigator's path than as a clue to the factors which have actually led to the development of "racial" antipathy. People generally justify their antagonisms towards other people. The following study illustrates how, in one case at least, the explanations offered were impressive and convincing, but entirely fallacious, "type-rationalizations."

In Fresno County, California, there is a group of first- and second-generation Armenian immigrants so set apart from the remainder of the population that they form a distinct colony. When the Armenians first settled in the region, it was sparsely populated. They have never amounted to more than six per cent of the total and remain after some fifty years a definite out-grouping. A study of the verbal attitudes involved in the situation reflects, of course, this cleavage between the Armenian and the non-Armenian members of the community.

A conventional social-distance questionnaire, conducted through the effective medium of personal interviews, revealed

that of 610 non-Armenians taken at random, 92.5 per cent considered that the Armenians belong to a definite out-group. This proportion would not willingly permit *any* Armenian to become a family member by marriage. Even the idea of belonging to the same club, or other formal grouping, seemed repugnant to 84 per cent of the total. But 36 per cent would, if necessary, work with Armenians; and an equal number thought they might hire them should the occasion arise. Not quite one-half of those interviewed believed that the Armenians deserved the status of American citizens, although, as a matter of fact, most of them already have it. While some went so far as to suggest that the only cure for the Armenian "problem" in Fresno County would be the importation of a few Turkish butchers, the majority considered that the Armenian was all right if he would only stay in his place, Armenia; and a small minority was willing to overlook his faults out of sympathy for the persecution he had received at the hands of the Turk. But that he had more than his normal proportion of faults, few non-Armenians would deny.

There is little that is significant in such a study of "racial" attitudes. The findings could have been easily and accurately deduced from objective evidence, particularly from the fact that the Armenians have tried without notable success for fifty years to become an integral part of community life. But the reasons which non-Armenians advanced for their antipathy are significant, since they tend to fit three distinct stereotypes and, particularly, because these stereotypes are in every in-

stance devoid of factual basis. It would appear that as people take over social antipathies, they also take over fairly fixed rationalistic justifications for them.

II

The most frequently advanced explanation for antipathy towards the Armenians of Fresno County is that they are "dishonest, lying, deceitful." This means, if anything, that the Armenians do not adhere to the in-group *mores*, particularly in those economic relationships which form the most frequent aspect of in- and out-group association. It is, apparently, this type of charge which has often led sociologists to conclude that race conflict has an economic-conflict origin. If, in this instance, the Armenians conduct their businesses (many are petty merchants) on a lower ethical level than do the non-Armenians, they provide unfair competition, which may be in part an explanation for the antagonism towards them. They are, in other words, refused admittance to the in-group because they differ significantly in their standards of economic conduct. Thus we should have an easy explanation of the social cleavages within the community. But unfortunately this conclusion can be arrived at only by deduction. Such factual evidence as can be secured indicates that the inferior level of Armenian business ethics exists only in the minds of non-Armenians and is a consequence rather than a cause of antagonism towards the Armenians.

It is exceedingly difficult to measure such a vague and subjective thing as business honesty. Standards vary and may also shift. But when the Armenians are stood up against the measuring stick of business integrity used by those who make the charge of dishonesty against them, they are found to be not only equal but superior. The Merchant's Associa-

tion of Fresno is a clearing house of credit information for that county. Its records are collected from bankers and business men (practically all non-Armenian) and used as the basis for making individual credit ratings.

Parroting the type-rationalization, the long-time manager of that institution stated, "I can safely say, after many years in credit work, that the Armenians are, as a race, the worst we have to deal with. While I know some, of course, who are fine men, in general you cannot trust them without a signed contract, and only then the force of law can hold them to it."

But a random sample of his records reveals the following comparison of Armenian with non-Armenian credit standing:

	PERCENT- AGE EX- CELLENT CREDIT, GOOD RISK	PERCENT- AGE FAIR RISK, GOOD FOR SMALL SUMS	PERCENT- AGE BAD RISK, EXTEND NO CREDIT
Armenian (total of 308)	41	37	22
Non-Armenian (total of 260).....	56.6	20	23.4

Considering that these reports are made out by non-Armenians, the majority of whom believe the Armenians to be inherently dishonest, and that the majority of Armenians in the county has long been economically depressed, their credit standing as individuals is remarkable. If the Armenian is "conflicting" with the native population because of lower standards of business conduct, his bankers and the merchants with whom he deals have failed to record the fact.

III

The second type-rationalization is based upon the claim that this out-group is parasitic, that it does not contribute its

share to community life and welfare. So in spite of his rapacity, his dishonesty, and his aggressiveness, the Armenian does not succeed in being self-sufficient, frequently becoming therefore a financial burden to the community.

In Fresno this explanation for the antagonism towards Armenians was advanced by over 30 per cent of the people interviewed. One of the highest officials of the County Hospital confirmed the charge, saying, "We have a lot of trouble with the Armenians. They are constantly demanding more charity here than do other races." But a study of admissions to the County Hospital over a period of years disclosed the fact that, considering their ratio in the total population, Armenian demand upon this form of charity was less than one-half that of the community as a whole. Even more revealing is the fact that, reduced to membership ratios, the Armenian demand upon the County Hospital was but 16.4 per cent of that of the foreign-born group as a whole.

Even the case workers in the County Welfare Bureau, who should be most cognizant of the situation, insisted on the tremendous burden imposed by the Armenians on general charity. But the bureau had, in fact, handled only 233 Armenian cases in eleven years, 2 per cent of the total. This works out to about one application for charity from this agency per year for each 500 Armenians in the county. For the entire population the rate is one for each 100. The parasitic character of the Armenian out-group exists only in the imagination of the in-group. It, like the charge of economic inequity, is a result rather than a cause of antipathy towards the Armenians, who are in fact ashamed to demand public charity, believing that responsibility for the indigent begins at home.

IV

A third type-rationalization is found in the claim that these out-group members have an inferior code of social morality, that their social divergence leads to social friction with the members of the in-group. The charge was repeatedly made by those trying to explain their antipathy that the Armenians were "always getting in trouble with the law," that "they are responsible for most of the crime in the county," etc. But police officials took a somewhat different view, and an analysis of arrests in the city of Fresno for two sample years revealed that Armenians were involved in but 1.5 per cent of the cases. Yet during these years Armenians made up approximately 6 per cent of the total population of the city.

Responsible public officials, including judges, prosecuting attorneys, and members of the District Attorney's staff, however, concur in the general belief that Armenians are great trouble-makers for the criminal courts. All but one of the lawyers interviewed were emphatic in their assertions that Armenians are trouble-makers. "We have more trouble with Armenians as a class in this (District Attorney's) office than with any other people. They are constantly coming to us for protection against someone, or to take action against someone. A remarkably large number of our cases involve Armenians."

Yet the fact is that of the 1,663 cases opened by the District Attorney in 1922 only 6.97 per cent involved Armenians. This is less than 1 per cent in excess of their proportionate representation in the total population for that year. By 1927 Armenians appeared in only 3.18 per cent of the cases opened, amounting to a frequency slightly more than one-half that of their proportionate representation. Yet

even these low figures are misleading, since they are based upon the occurrence of Armenian names in the records, and at least two names appear in each case. Allowing for this factor, it would appear that the Armenians are about one-third as apt to become involved in criminal charges handled by the District Attorney's office as the population as a whole.

"The Armenians," reported an official in the County Recorder's office, "are always in the courts, for they will take anything to law in an effort to get the best of a deal. I believe that they are responsible for at least one-third of the civil cases which we handle, and all lawyers and judges recognize this characteristic of the Armenians and treat them accordingly." That the informer was right in saying that the lawyers and judges of the community consider Armenians bickering, cantankerous, and generally obnoxious to the courts is perfectly true. But that this feeling is a consequence of excessive demands upon the civil courts by Armenians is not subject to proof. It, like all the other charges, is but a rationalization.

During five years, taken as samples from the period 1904 to 1928, Armenians were involved in 676 of the total 7,390 civil suits filed in the county. If we assume that each case involves no more than two people, a single plaintiff and a single defendant, the total names appearing on record in civil suits during the sample years would be 14,780, of which the Armenian total is but 4.5 per cent, a figure which approximates their proportionate representation in the total population of the county during this period. Yet the actual figure must be considerably less than 4.5 per cent, since in many civil cases four or more people are involved.

It is a saying in that community that when a Christian meets a Jew, the Chris-

tian steps aside; when a Jew meets an Armenian, the Jew steps aside; but when an Armenian meets an Armenian, they always fight it out. A prominent jurist paraphrased this as, "When an Armenian meets a white man (sic), the latter loses; when he meets another Armenian, they go to court."

Yet the fact is that of the civil cases involving Armenians during the five years studied only 26.8 per cent were of Armenian against Armenian. Indicative perhaps of the sort of justice meted out by the prejudiced courts is the fact that in 82 per cent of the remainder of these cases the plaintiffs were non-Armenian. More than four times as many non-Armenians instigated suits against Armenians as Armenians did against non-Armenians. Whatever else this may show, it does not indicate that the Armenians are predisposed to go to court at the drop of the hat.

Although numerous other sources were studied in the effort to discover some factual basis for the claim that the Armenians are a cause of overt bickering in the community, one more negative finding will serve to indicate the rationalistic nature of the charge. It seemed possible that the anti-social nature of the Armenians was of such a character that it would not be revealed by criminal or civil court cases. So in view of the fact that the Armenians had been until recent years heavy employers of agricultural labor, largely Mexican, recourse was made to the State Labor Bureau, which public institution is responsible for the protection of the ignorant and depressed laborers. The official in charge stated, "The Armenians have given us a great deal of trouble in this office . . . ; you will find that most of our cases during the last ten years have been against Armenians."

Packing house officials, employment agents, and the non-Armenian employers

of agricultural labor were insistent in the charge that the Armenian employer was a scourge upon the community, since he invariably tried to exploit the "poor, ignorant, Mexican laborers." From the Mexican laborers, no comment could be secured, but from the records of the Labor Bureau the following facts were ascertained.

Between 1918 and 1927 a total of 14,870 separate cases were filed. In these cases a total of 1,294 Armenian names appears. These years include the period when Fresno County was going through an agricultural boom and the Armenians were deserting city occupations to become viniculturists. The ratio of Armenian to non-Armenian employers of agricultural labor could not be accurately established, but an analysis of Armenian land ownership during this period confirms the general view that the ratio far exceeded that of the Armenian representation in the total population. Yet the percentage of Armenians involved in labor disputes was somewhat lower than the percentage of Armenians in the total population of the county.

Fortunately for purposes of clear analysis, separate claims were filed by each laborer, although a number of laborers were complaining against a common employer. Of the 29,740 disputants whose names went on record during the period studied, only 5.5 per cent were Armenians; and in but 56.1 per cent of these cases which involved Armenians was the complainant a non-Armenian. Although the personnel of the Labor Bureau was strongly biased in favor of the "poor, ignorant, laborers," and against the "shrewd and grasping Armenian employers," only 726 non-Armenian laborers brought claim against Armenian employers over a period of nine years. Against non-Armenian employers they filed 13,576

claims. Yet the Director of the Labor Bureau could echo the charge that the Armenians are a bickering and cantankerous lot by saying, "... most of our cases during the last ten years have been against Armenians." And apparently he believed it.

V

Aside from an occasional reference to the fact that they are dirty, noisy, or "clannish," all of the 879 separate explanations secured for antipathy toward the Armenians of Fresno County fall into one of these three type-rationalizations. The first of these is a charge based implicitly or explicitly upon the use of substandard methods of securing economic maintenance. The second is grounded upon the claim that the out-group is an economic and social burden upon the community at large. The third is founded upon the contention that the behavior of the out-group members brings them into conflict with that of the majority, causing constant friction and resulting infrequent recourse to legal measures. These explanations for the antipathy towards the Armenians have this in common: they point to a cultural difference between the in-group and the out-group. But all have this further trait in common as well: they are not verifiable; in fact, they are definitely false.

Differences do exist between the Armenians and the non-Armenians. The former are distinctly out-group. But whatever aspects of these differences have caused the development and perpetuation over a period of fifty years of strong antagonism towards the Armenians, they have operated in such a subtle fashion that the non-Armenians are not aware of the true cause. They must, therefore, fall back on simple and highly rationalistic explanations. These explanations for group an-

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tipathy are comparable to the mythological explanations of the origin of and necessity for social institutions. They are the "Garden of Eden" of group antipathy. And the rather universal character of the type-rationalizations used by the non-Armenians of Fresno County becomes evident when we compare them

with the type of justifications advanced by the German National Socialists for their persecution of the Jews. It would, however, be rather injudicious to reflect also upon the fact that most of our sociological explanations of group conflict neatly fit one or another of these same type-rationalizations.

REGIONAL AND DISTRICT MEETINGS

The secretaries of the several associations have released the following announcements:

EASTERN SOCIOLOGICAL CONFERENCE

The seventh annual meeting of the Eastern Sociological Conference was held in New Haven, Conn., April 18th and 19th, with over a hundred persons in attendance. The central topic of the Conference was Social Theory and the Social Order. The majority of the sessions centered around a discussion of Capitalism, Fascism, Socialism, and Communism as divergent social orders. Among others who read papers dealing with this general question were Theodore Abel, Joseph Folsom, Scott Nearing, H. A. Miller, Harry Laidler, Lyford Edwards, and Roger Baldwin. Additional sections were devoted to social economics, religion and the social order, social work, the nature of sociology, and education in relation to the social order. At the annual banquet addresses were delivered by James W. Woodward, the retiring president, on "Some Implications from Sociology for the Social Order," and Harry Elmer Barnes, "History and the Problem of the Social Order." The officers for the Conference for the coming year are Jerome Davis, president; Niles Carpenter, vice president; Paul F. Cressey, secretary-treasurer. Harold G. Phelps, Thorsten Sellin, and Willard Waller are elected members of the executive committee.

OHIO SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

The twelfth annual meeting of the Ohio Sociological Society was held in Columbus on April 24 and 25. The wide range of papers on the program included the following: Maurice A. Mook, Ohio Wesleyan University, "The Walapai, a Nomadic Indian Tribe of the Southwest"; Edwin D. Harvey, Oberlin College "The Search for Social Law"; Asael T. Hansen, Miami University, "Magic in Urban Yucatan"; Rupert B. Koeninger, Marietta College, "The Measurement of Attitudes"; Rev. F. J. Friedel, S. M., University of Dayton, "Factors in Home Adjustment of College Men"; W. H. Gilbert, University of Cincinnati, "The Sociology of Knowledge"; James T. Laing, Kent State University, "Directional Types; The Study of Primary and Secondary Aspects of Interstate Migration"; Guy W. Sarvis, Ohio Wesleyan University, "Cultural Osmosis in the Orient"; Carl A. Nissen, Baldwin-Wallace College, "Parolability"; Miss Valarie Justiss University of Toledo, "Adjustment Problems of Negro Youths as Affected by the Depression"; Rex M. Johnson, Lake Erie College, "The Status of Women Under Communism and Fascism"; and Louis W. Ingram, College of Wooster, "Radio Research and Radio Policy."

At the annual dinner of the Society, presided over by Vice-President C. B. Gohdes, of Capital University, the members heard two interesting, non-technical papers. F. E. Lumley, chairman of the Department of Sociology at Ohio State and editor of "The Ohio Sociologist," gave an informal talk entitled "Reminiscences," dealing with his earlier experiences as a sociologist and teacher. The presidential address by J. A. Quinn of the University of Cincinnati, humorously entitled, "The Development of a Sociological Mongrel," was an interesting recital of the many varied influences which had operated in the development of the speaker's present sociological outlook. After mentioning the wide variety of sociological teachers with whom he had contact in his student days, he concluded that "anyone whose sociological background depends upon such a diversity of sociological ancestors must indeed be a mongrel." An informal social hour, in the parlors of the Faculty Club followed the evening session.

Officers elected for the year 1936-37 are: A. A. Johnston, College of Wooster, president; E. M. Hursh, Otterbein College, vice-president; S. C. Newman, Ohio State, secretary-treasurer (re-elected); and F. E. Lumley, Ohio State, editor (re-elected). The Society now has over seventy dues-paying members among the ninety-odd sociologists in the colleges of the state. The meeting had approximately one hundred persons in attendance at each session.

NORTHERN DIVISION OF THE PACIFIC SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

The northern division of the Pacific Sociological Society met jointly with Section K of the Western Division of the A. A. A. S. at the University of Washington, Seattle, June 15-17. Sociologists, social workers, economists, and political scientists both in the field and in academic posts gathered to consider the problem of Social Security.

These social scientists were practically agreed upon three main points: *First*, we do need provision for social security, because our old idea, that every man can take care of himself, is no longer true. *Second*, we must pay the cost of living together decently, because we cannot afford the continued expense of supporting, in idleness,

(Concluded on p. 254)

PUBLIC WELFARE AND SOCIAL WORK

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

COUNCIL RESEARCH AND FACT FINDING*

ELLERY F. REED

Cincinnati Community Chest

THE late great historian, James Harvey Robinson, defined the liberal as "one who believes in the possibilities of conscious progress." The conservative, he said, is "one not yet aware of such possibilities." Research underlies the very idea and fact of progress. Conscious progress is a modern idea which developed first out of early determination of facts about the nature and control of physical forces.

Research and the idea of conscious progress have developed much more slowly in the field of social organization and social science than in the natural sciences. It is only since the beginning of the present century that *social research* has received much attention or support. Nevertheless, any one who has studied at all seriously the nature of social problems and research concerning them can scarcely fail to be a liberal in the sense defined by James Harvey Robinson. Conscious social progress is possible when we have the facts and know their meaning.

The Community Chest and Council movement itself is based upon the idea of organization for conscious control of community forces and problems. We have, however, still a long road to travel in the welfare field toward the research

ideal. We are still too much given to snap judgments, generalization on inadequate and inaccurate information and action based upon prejudice and popular theory rather than facts. In the welfare field we are greatly in need of research which will not only produce facts but combine and interpret them with thought and insight.

IS SCIENTIFIC METHOD AND RESEARCH APPLICABLE IN THE WELFARE FIELD?

Community Funds and Councils have had considerable difficulty to sell the idea of research as applied to welfare work. The idea has been more or less prevalent that scientific method and research could not be applied in social work; that welfare work was too largely a matter of sentiment, religion, and emotion.

Research in connection with Chests and Councils has in fact saved enough money and has promoted the effectiveness of financial campaigns sufficiently to be sold to the hard headed business man on this basis alone. But what about such matters as improving methods and standards of service in social work itself? Can we apply scientific method and research in a field where measurement and evaluation are so difficult? Subjective factors and judgments play a large part in the original founding and in the policies and work of

* Presented before the Mid-West Community Chest Conference in Chicago February 21, 1936.

social agencies. This makes the application of scientific method and research difficult, but doubly important. One hundred per cent objectivity is, of course, not humanly possible in the social field and is not achieved even in the physical sciences. It is, however, unnecessary entirely to eliminate the subjective element in social research. It may, in fact, must, recognize such element and, doing so, it may still be scientific research. It is, of course, important to provide proper compensations and safeguards.

We cannot here go into this matter of safeguards and scientific method as applied to social research, but one point should be clear, i.e., that we are dealing with facts in welfare work and they are no less facts for having in them more or less of the subjective element. For example, the number of "under care cases" of a family agency has in it original judgments of case workers as to acceptance of each case, its classification, and finally its closing. Workers of approved professional training show a surprising uniformity of judgment in such matters. Nevertheless agencies differ widely in the relative size and training of staffs and in leadership, methods, and philosophy of work. Thus the number of cases, although at first thought an entirely objective and quantitative matter, really represents more or less an accumulation of human judgments as to eligibility of the clients for care and assistance.

If we wish to go further and evaluate the work of a family agency, any reliable rating of its work must be based upon competent and carefully safeguarded judgments, as well as upon such relatively objective data as training, experience and size of staff, case loads, average relief per relief case per month, etc. The methods of case work and accomplishment of the agency in sample cases must be appraised

and here the principal safeguard is to secure the services of the most competent and disinterested person or committee. Evaluative judgments and findings arrived at by competent persons and by careful methods are significant facts just as the diagnosis of a competent physician is a significant fact.

Such facts constitute legitimate research data. Their scientific validity depends upon the methods and personnel used in securing them. Practical experience leaves no doubt that research data in this field may and often do have such scientific validity as to make it a potent instrument for progress and increased effectiveness in social work. Such research data are far superior to the empirical judgments too commonly relied on.

SOCIAL RESEARCH AS A BUFFER AGAINST POPULAR AND FALLACIOUS THEORIES

Newspapers, periodicals, radios, public speakers, etc., constantly broadcast ideas and theories about various public problems. The suggestive power of sheer repetition from many sources often begets convictions having little or no foundation in fact. None of us is entirely proof against the tremendous force of mass psychology. Our attitudes and ideas may be affected unconsciously without substantial basis.

For example, we have been hearing in recent months a great deal about relief being degenerating. Relief clients have been represented as generally not willing to work. Few who have accepted such a point of view could present any substantial data in support of it. The Research Department of the FERA has effectively exploded the idea. Studies in different communities have shown that a very small percentage of relief clients have refused reasonable offers of work.

A similar service in correcting popular

ideas about relief has been performed by careful students, such as Homer Folks in his paper "Making Relief Respectable," and C. M. Bookman in his article "Social Work and the Public Temper"¹ and Grace Marcus in her book, *Some Aspects of Relief in Family Case Work*.² Such contributions represent careful analyses of facts well established in the laboratories of social work. Such analysis should be recognized as an important aspect of social research and is often an effective safeguard against popular propaganda.

Another theory that has filled the air in recent months has been that direct relief should be entirely returned from the Federal Government to the states and local communities. Research studies, such as that of Professor J. Roy Blough on "Financing Unemployment Relief"³ have provided a factual basis for a sounder national policy.

One more illustration:—in some of our city communities there has been a widely accepted idea that most of the people on relief were "briar hoppers" newly arrived from the hinterland. This popular idea was effectively exploded recently in Cincinnati by a study made by the Hamilton County Welfare Department which showed that less than 4 per cent of the relief clients had been in the city less than five years and that a still smaller percentage had originated in isolated and backwoods areas of other states.

¹ *Survey*, November Mid-Monthly, 1935; page 326, "Social Work and the Public Temper" by C. M. Bookman.

² Published by Charity Organization Society of New York, 1929.

³ *Financing Unemployment Relief* by J. Roy Blough, University of Cincinnati, a paper presented before the Unemployment Relief Administration Section of the 41st Annual Conference on Government of the National Municipal League, at Providence, R. I., November 26, 1935.

THE FIELD AND SCOPE OF COUNCIL RESEARCH

Councils of Social Agencies must of necessity recognize certain practical limitations. It is, however, difficult, and I believe, unwise to define too definitely the field and scope of Council research. This must be determined by the circumstances peculiar to each community and the particular demands and needs at a given time.

In general, Councils should not undertake what may be regarded as *pure research*; in other words, research which has no definite object or probable value for the Council or Community Chest or member agencies. The gathering of certain community data of general interest is important and does provide the necessary foundations of knowledge oftentimes for the more specialized research projects of the Council. Other research agencies, however, commonly exist in our larger communities today to which we may look for such data as wage rates, employment, business conditions, population movements, age groupings, foreign born by nationalities and census tracts, the incidence of delinquency and crime, mortality and morbidity, divorces, marriages, etc.

Universities, bureaus of government research, public health boards, boards of education, chambers of commerce, private foundations, and even large industries and public utilities, as well as Councils of Social Agencies, today are recognizing the necessity and importance of social data and community research and are gathering quantities of basic data of general sociological interest and importance. Councils should encourage these other research agencies and lend every possible cooperation. Expensive and needless duplication of effort should be avoided. If, however, an urgent need appears for a certain research project

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outside the usual boundaries of Council effort and no other competent agency is able at the proper time to undertake it, the Council of Social Agencies may do so provided, of course, that it has, or can secure, the qualified research personnel and necessary resources.

Community Fund and Council research finds its natural place in the area of its special competence, i.e., local social welfare problems. In this field Council research may be an invaluable instrument justifying a liberal investment from the standpoint of: (1) more intelligently and effectively directing money raising efforts; (2) saving money in carrying out a sound community program of social work; (3) improving the standards of service of member agencies thus yielding larger returns to the community in terms of human values; and (4) securing the facts about community problems and how to meet them.

These Council research objectives should be broadly conceived. No community today lives unto itself either in economic or welfare matters. The proper handling of welfare problems in the local community is increasingly dependent upon the development and functioning of county, state, and national welfare programs. For example, the majority of the studies made by the Research Department of the Cincinnati Community Chest have been local and practical in scope, but the broader implications and possibilities of a Council research program have been recognized. My services as director of the Research Department were transferred for several months to the National Committee for Transient and Homeless Persons to conduct a study of the federal program for transients. This national program for transients was the first comprehensive approach ever made in this country to an age-old problem which local communities

have so long and ineffectively tried to meet, or perhaps we had better say, tried to avoid. In fact it is a problem which local communities cannot effectively meet. It seemed appropriate that a local Council in this case should make a contribution to a national study.

Last year I was occupied for several months with a study of the State Welfare Department as a part of the widely known Sherrill Survey of the Ohio State Government. State welfare programs in all states are increasingly affecting social work in local communities and it was hoped that, besides a wider significance for the state at large, this study might have substantial value for Cincinnati.

RELATION OF COUNCIL RESEARCH TO BUREAUS OF GOVERNMENT RESEARCH

Relationships between public and private agencies have been thrown into confusion by the rapid growth during the past few years of public welfare work. It is questionable whether community planning can or should any longer center exclusively in an organization predominately composed of private agencies. Our Councils of Social Agencies have been built on the community patterns of the past and it is no easy matter to readjust community organization and agency functions to the new facts and conditions. Research should play an important part in the general realignment necessary, but such research should not be carried on exclusively under either governmental or private auspices.

Many large communities now have bureaus of government research. In 1935 the Governmental Research Association listed a total of 76 bureaus of governmental research in the United States; 47 independently supported, 15 supported by local governments, and 14 by Chambers of Commerce. With the taking over by

governments of greatly increased responsibility for relief, health, and leisure time activities, public officials have naturally looked to these bureaus of government research to survey these public welfare functions.

Since community planning cannot be based upon research which limits itself either to the public or the private agencies exclusively, there has been a tendency for bureaus of government research to include both in their surveys. The bureaus have not always recognized their limitations of personnel for welfare research. These bureaus, like our Councils, have been built upon the patterns of the past and so have employed staffs often admirably qualified for research in the business and material aspects of government, but without special qualifications in the new and difficult field of human service which has suddenly become such an important function of government. Private agencies have thus been called upon to cooperate in research projects sometimes directed and carried on by persons not well qualified in the welfare field.

It is important that the Council of Social Agencies include in its membership the bureau of government research wherever such exists. An active working relationship should be established so that welfare research may be directed and carried out by competent people and with the fullest participation of private as well as public agencies. Councils of Social Agencies may sometimes well loan qualified personnel to the local bureau of government research for welfare surveys. The Council may also cooperate with the bureau of government research in bringing qualified persons from outside the community to assist with such studies. There should certainly be cooperative interpretation of findings.

USE OF NATIONAL AGENCIES AND SPECIALIZED PERSONNEL FROM OUTSIDE THE COMMUNITY

To what extent should national welfare agencies and experts from outside be called upon to assist in local research projects. In this, as in other questions of research method in this field, it is difficult to generalize. There are national agencies and national agencies, there are experts and experts, and research projects and research projects.

There is no question that certain national agencies are in a position to make research contributions of great value to the local community, and it is better that local communities err, if at all, on the side of supporting and making liberal use of national agencies. This matter should, however, be carefully considered in each particular case. Certain tendencies and limitations of national agencies should be clearly recognized. There is in the first place the highly specialized point of view sometimes characterizing the national agency. The same holds true of the expert brought from the outside even though not connected with a national agency. The findings of specialists and experts need to be carefully integrated into community planning in light of the total situation, something that no outsider can do satisfactorily without local assistance.

The national agency or outside expert sometimes evidences a desire to publish findings and recommendations irrespective of whether this seems advisable locally. Sometimes, of course, the situation is the reverse and local Councils or agencies unwisely insist on publication. This may be detrimental to practical results in the community. The writer has experienced an instance in which a national agency insisted on the publication of its report and, in fact, did so independently of the local committee. The report differed in

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certain important respects from that issued by the local committee. The latter had highly competent local assistance and gave careful consideration to the national agency's recommendations. Another national agency insisted in advance as a condition of its services that the findings should be its property to be interpreted and used as it saw fit.

Some of these dangers may be avoided if the Council can include in its research budget some provision for proper compensation of the outside agency or expert and formulate in advance an agreement that the report is to be made to a Council Committee to be used in such manner as seems best to the Committee. If research services of a national agency are to be rendered directly to one of the member agencies, it should be after clearing and discussing the matter with the Council. Without local identification and coöperation with a study, it may arouse defensive attitudes and do more harm than good.

The possible value of the outside agency or expert, in spite of such occasional difficulties, is great. There are advantages in objectivity of findings and recommendations, avoidance of personal feelings and reactions, and the expert service furnished. Councils of Social Agencies may well make larger use of such outside research resources. The important thing is that such resources be made part of a coöperative project in which the best local as well as outside personnel shall participate.

TO WHAT EXTENT SHALL MEMBER AGENCIES OF THE COUNCIL PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH WORK?

Most member agencies do not have on their staffs personnel qualified for independent research work. This does not mean that self study of their work should not be encouraged. Furthermore, there are exceptions to the first statement.

Some public health agencies, for example, have made outstanding research contributions. It is not practicable for the Council to do all of the research work which needs to be done and appropriate efforts by the agencies themselves should be welcomed and encouraged. Such research by the agencies should, of course, be carried on in close conjunction with Council research activities. The agencies should avail themselves of the advice and guidance of such expert personnel as the Council may employ.

This leads to the closely related question as to how much assistance should be expected from member agencies in supplying materials for research projects carried on by the Council. Sometimes questionnaires and frequent requests for data become burdensome. Agencies are often short of personnel and pressed by their regular work. However, when unnecessary requests have been eliminated, and overlapping and duplicating reports avoided, as far as possible, coöperative efforts from member agencies for well considered research projects must be secured. Successful and efficient research work cannot otherwise be accomplished by the Council.

One of the most troublesome and persistent problems in carrying forward council research projects is the fact that some agencies always procrastinate and require repeated follow-up and urging to supply the data required. With some of these agencies, the Council may need the co-operation of the executive of the Community Chest. Financial pressure should be the last resort, but in some instances it may be necessary. Agencies should realise that the Community Chest and Council bears a heavy responsibility to the community to insure the best possible standards of social work. The agencies themselves also place a heavy responsibility on the

Community Chest for raising the necessary money for their budgets. All this implies the obligation of member agencies to cooperate with the research and fact finding efforts of the Council and Chest.

Public agencies are being called upon in many instances for much more data than are private agencies. I have been impressed with the enormous amount of work required of the statistical department of our local public relief agency in supplying the various special reports, censuses, and administrative studies in addition to daily statistical data of applications, intake, closings, active cases, amount of relief requisitioned, etc. As a result of this, however, the Welfare Department in Hamilton County has developed such a statistical service as is rarely matched in private agencies, and the data the Department has thus constantly had available has been an important factor in its efficiency and in maintaining public confidence.

Every effort should be made to enlist agency interest in fact finding and research. Councils of Social Agencies have had some responsibility for the lack of interest of some member agencies in supplying statistical and research data. Councils have not always made clear to agencies the objectives and importance of the data and have all too commonly failed to return to them assembled data and results of research effort. Some of our Councils are now issuing statistical bulletins, thus returning in tabular and graphic form community data to which the agencies have contributed. Such bulletins commonly include some analysis and discussion of significant aspects of the data. This tends to reconcile member agencies to the work involved, and stimulates their further inquiry and interest in research projects.

IMPORTANCE OF NOT AROUSING IN MEMBER AGENCIES A DEFENSIVE ATTITUDE

If member agencies come to feel whenever a research project is undertaken, it is actuated by a critical attitude on the part of the Chest or Council, or that budgets are to be decreased or eliminated, or that weaknesses are to be published to the world, the research activities of the Council will be seriously handicapped, if not doomed to failure. Good results require that agencies feel some sense of security and an attitude of cooperation toward research.

A sense of security can, of course, be purchased at too great a price. This is the case when research findings are filed or placed on the shelf and nothing is done. Crystallization and lack of adjustment to changing conditions is a real danger in private agencies. It is a delicate and difficult task for the Council to carry out research recommendations and at the same time not destroy the possibilities of future research.

Important research projects should commonly be sponsored by a carefully selected Council Committee. Any project likely to involve difficult questions of agency relationship, personnel or readjustment should be preceded by careful discussions with agency executives and boards and their full cooperation secured.

Finally, patient but continuing effort of an educational nature should characterize the attempt to carry out recommendations. The ideal is to secure carefully considered, voluntary action by the agencies themselves in accord with sound community planning. Conditions during depression years have made such careful, conservative procedure difficult;—sometimes impossible. Normally, however, it is better to be patient with undesirable situations rather than force hasty research

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or hasty adoption of recommendations. The time element is important. If the carrying out of all the recommendations is not insisted upon at once, the passage of a comparatively brief time often does much to remove obstacles. Watchfulness, persistence and patience are frequently as necessary in carrying out the recommendations of research as in doing the research itself.

Research itself should be an educational procedure, enlightening and stimulating to the agencies. When the findings and recommendations are completed, plans should be made to insure their careful study. Executives and boards of the agencies, the Community Chest executive, the proper council committees and the research director should participate in thorough-going discussion of the finished report. The carrying out of recommendations should not be the responsibility of the specialized research staff, but such staff should be available and cooperate in every possible way.

STATISTICS DO NOT TELL THE WHOLE STORY

The routine work of the research department should include the keeping of statistics of service and the cost of such service by types of work. Great progress has been made along this line during the past few years. Forty-three cities are co-operating under the leadership of the U. S. Children's Bureau in gathering comparable statistics of service for all the principal types of social work.⁴ One hundred and eighteen communities are reporting statistics of relief. Objectives of development in this field are: (1) to extend the reporting area to include more communities and agencies and all important types of work; (2) to perfect the statistics and make them more reliable and compa-

table; and (3) to secure financial reports by the same types of work thus paralleling financial and service data and making possible cost accounting by types of work.

A great deal could well be said of the many uses to which such statistics and financial data may be put. Suffice it here to say that continuous and careful gathering of such data is important and should be developed.

But statistics in themselves are not enough. Statistics are but the starting point; the raw material of research. A good deal of money is being wasted in gathering statistical data because they are so often unrefined and no use is made of them. Statistics must be interpreted, and their meaning revealed if their full value is to be realized. This requires thoughtful analysis, inquiry, and qualitative research.

We need evaluation of the work, personnel, and policies of our social agencies and these cannot be measured satisfactorily from statistical reports. For example, in the family field we may secure percentages of administrative and service costs, salary rates, average case load per case worker, percentage of applications accepted, rate of turnover of cases, average relief per relief case per month, number of relief clients per thousand of the population and per thousand unemployed in the community. Such quantitative or statistical measures are valuable and should be regularly available. They are, however, not enough. They leave us still far from sure of the community value and actual results of the work. They create at best certain presumptions and hypotheses which need testing by qualitative research:—such research as was described earlier in this paper as involving evaluative judgments. (See first topic.)

Methods for qualitative analysis and evaluation of the work of agencies are one of the most important developments ahead

⁴The Social Security Board has recently taken over publication of some of these data.

in the field of social research. There are intriguing possibilities of developing standard rating methods for different types of work and agencies. The Family Welfare Association of America, the American Public Health Association, and the American Association of Social Workers have made interesting beginnings in this direction. The Association of Schools for Social Work has worked out a rating plan for appraisal of such schools. Such ratings may be and sometimes are expressed in numerical terms, but they cannot and should not attempt entirely to avoid a certain amount of competent appraisal of essential elements. Statistics which attempt to confine themselves entirely to objective data are not enough.

HUMANIZING RESEARCH FINDINGS

Social workers have been much maligned and ridiculed for using technical terms. The strong popular reaction against such terminology is no doubt in part due to the fact that social work is not as yet generally recognized as a profession. Some social workers have no doubt exercised poor judgment in using technical terms in addressing laymen, and some, so called social workers, have not been really competent in the subject matter involved.

This difficulty, however, is not peculiar to social workers. James Harvey Robinson, a few years ago, wrote a book entitled *The Humanizing of Knowledge* in which he pointed out that:

Scholars and men of science almost always write more or less unconsciously for one another. They cannot forget their fellow workers in the field and properly wish to enjoy the reputation of scientists and scholars and not that of mere popularizers. They are so accustomed to technical terms that they use them without realizing how few of their readers can be expected to understand them. This is the result not of love of pedantic display but of an acceptance of the rules of the game as they have been taught it. The spectre haunts them not of a puzzled, discouraged

reader, but of a reviewer likely to accuse them of superficiality and inaccuracy.

This same problem appears in the field of welfare studies and reports. It is important that the findings and recommendations of social research be presented in a readable and clear manner and made as interesting as possible. The important should be distinguished from the unimportant, and ponderous tomes avoided, at least for general consumption. Technical and even voluminous reports have their place and may properly be addressed to research committees or other special groups, but such reports need rewriting and briefing for those who have neither sufficient time nor special training to read and understand them.

This briefing may well be the function of the research personnel where such is employed by the Council, but criticism of the brief by an interested layman, Chest executive or professional publicity person will prove valuable. This popularly written version may be issued in the form of a report by a Council Committee, appointed perhaps for the particular study, and in such case the report should be carefully reviewed and approved by the Committee.

BOTH SPECIAL AND STANDING RESEARCH COMMITTEES MAY BE VALUABLE

Special committees appointed to supervise and sponsor individual research projects have proved more successful in certain respects than standing research committees. Both types, however, may be useful. A committee serving for a particular study can and should be selected with reference to the particular interests and problems involved. Such a Committee will be willing to give more time to the project and will be more competent to advise and assist with it than a standing committee attempting to function relative to all studies.

At the same time a standing committee on research representing the Community Chest Board or Council may do a vital service in maintaining the interest and support of these bodies for the general research program. Such a committee may logically lend guidance to and sponsor general research policies. A standing committee may also act as the appointing authority for special committees to serve for particular studies.

Some studies, particularly the minor ones, should be directed merely by executive action, but a carefully selected, well qualified committee should be appointed for any research project involving delicate or difficult problems of relationship or policy. Such a committee should help to interpret findings and determine recommendations.

The finished report may then be effectively sponsored by this special Committee. Prestige, ability, and integrity in the personnel of such a committee is often a decisive element in securing the attention and action called for by the report, whether it is addressed confidentially to a single agency or group of agencies, or whether it is broadcast for public consumption. In the latter case it should be launched to the public with the assistance of a publicity expert.

QUALIFIED RESEARCH PERSONNEL NEEDED

Councils should employ, if possible, especially qualified personnel for the direc-

tion of research activities. This may be practicable only for the larger community chests and councils. Where a special director of research cannot be employed, the executive secretary of the Council himself, or one of his assistants, may have to combine this function with others.

Qualifications for directing research in Councils of Social Agencies include a thorough background of training in the social sciences plus graduate work, if possible, in sociology and economics. Graduate training in a school of social work, with special emphasis upon research method would be ideal professional training. Practical experience in the welfare field, diplomacy and good judgment are great assets. A broad knowledge of the field is essential.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, it may be emphasized that Community Chests and Councils of Social Agencies cannot afford to be without an active research program, broadly conceived, but kept within legitimate and practical scope. It should be properly coordinated with other research activities in the community, so directed as to enlist the active interest and coöperation of the member agencies and so presented and sponsored by committees that the maximum of practical results may be achieved. It is essential to such a program that properly qualified personnel, including at times expert assistance from outside the community, should be employed.

EXPERIENCE IN COUNTY PUBLIC WELFARE ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION AS A BASIS FOR PLANNING IN ILLINOIS

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RECENT events in the field of public welfare have stimulated new interest and concern among the welfare leaders of Illinois in a county unit plan of welfare and administration. Along with the general added significance of welfare problems during the depression, the experiences of the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission, the transfer in large measure of the emergency relief administration burden to the townships,¹ and the new social security legislation have added to this concern.

The idea of a county unit plan for the administration of welfare activities is not altogether new in Illinois. In 1912, Professor E. C. Hayes in his presidential address, as president of the Illinois Conference on Public Welfare, stressed the need for a type of county wide organization in the interest of improved standards of welfare service.² Wilfred S. Reynolds in the presidential address of the same body in 1917 set out the principle of county boards of public welfare for the state.³

In 1920 a Special Children's Committee, appointed at the request of the State Conference by the Director of the State Department of Public Welfare, reported among its 46 recommendations one for county units as a basis of local public welfare administration. This recommendation is quoted below as an interesting bit of pioneering:

¹ July 1, 1936, township supervisors of Illinois become local administrators of all relief to the poor in their townships.

² See pp. 21 and 22, Report of Fortieth Anniversary Session of Illinois Conference on Social Welfare, 1935.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

In order to crystallize the potentialities of the counties and local communities, both rural and urban, it is recommended that the Department of Public Welfare promote the formation by the officials and citizens of local committees which might be known as County Boards. Experience in other states has shown that such boards do much to prevent duplication of effort, and to arouse interest, and lead to a common understanding of community resources and responsibilities and a fine spirit of cooperation in service for the common good.⁴

Governor Emmerson, pursuant to a resolution of the Fifty-Sixth General Assembly, appointed a Committee on Child Welfare Legislation under the chairmanship of Henry P. Chandler. This committee in its report back to the Governor in 1931 strongly recommended a law providing for a welfare board in each county; Cook County already having a bureau of public welfare in successful operation.⁵

This eminent committee, apparently conscious of both the American ideal of democracy and the high standards desirable for welfare services made explanation in part for suggesting the county unit in the following significant language:

Every local community should recognize a duty to provide for needy children within its limits. . . . The State can help by supervision, guidance, and in proper cases financial aid. But the detailed administration must remain in the localities where the needs can be best understood and realized. . . . The county is the logical unit for local welfare activity. Twenty states, including Minnesota, Alabama, California, Pennsylvania, North Carolina, and Ohio, have provided for

⁴ Report of Fortieth Anniversary Session of Illinois Conference on Social Welfare, 1935, p. 32.

⁵ See Report of the Committee on Child Welfare Legislation, Feb., 1931, pp. 230-233, for copy of the proposed bill.

county welfare boards and the committee recommends that such a plan be adopted in Illinois.⁶

A bill prepared by this committee providing for a county welfare unit plan was presented to the 57th General Assembly and was passed by the Senate, so far had sentiment advanced in favor of the county unit plan for welfare administration.⁷ The House failed to pass the bill, however. A similar bill was introduced in the 58th General Assembly but it did not receive enough support to become law.⁸ Early in Governor Horner's administration the Governor appointed a commission under the chairmanship of O. C. Doering to go over the whole problem of relief and to make recommendations as to proper ways and means of meeting the relief needs in relation to general welfare. This commission reporting on June 1, 1935, strongly recommended a county welfare unit plan functioning through county boards and staffs of welfare officials chosen on a merit basis. While this report did not immediately mature into legislation, its clear and courageous advocacy of the county welfare unit on a merit basis was strengthening to the morale of those interested in improvement. The 59th General Assembly in its regular and various special sessions has not enacted legislation providing for a comprehensive county welfare unit,⁹ but it has passed legislation establishing county welfare boards and providing for

the appointment of county superintendents of public welfare to administer old age assistance in the state. This action was taken in order to comply with the requirements of the Federal Social Security Act for all participating states.

The provisions of the legislature for administering old age assistance through county welfare boards and county welfare superintendents apply only to this one welfare service. It is hoped, however, by those concerned about efficient and adequate administration of welfare that, as participation in other of the federal social security benefits is provided for, their administration may be placed under the boards already established in the counties. If this is done, it will guard against duplication and will facilitate coordination of services to a much greater degree than would be possible under piece-meal administration in which a separate board would administer each type of benefit. Such coordinated plans of county welfare administration are coming more and more into favor among students and leaders in public welfare as the best method of making welfare services really effective.¹⁰

SOME EXPERIENCES IN COUNTY WIDE ADMINISTRATION IN ILLINOIS

While a number of other states, including North Carolina, Minnesota, Alabama, Pennsylvania, and California,¹¹ have experimented over a fairly long period in large proportions of their areas with the county welfare plan and with results that recommend the plan, Illinois is not alto-

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

⁷ Senate Bill 235. Senate Bills 236 and 237 also pertained to the establishment of the county unit plan.

⁸ Senate Bill No. 152 and House Bill No. 78.

⁹ Existing legislation provides for county wide administration of separate welfare services, as we shall see in later pages of this article. The need is for the establishing of a comprehensive welfare administration unit in the county that will embrace all the existing welfare functions and that will naturally become responsible for new welfare services when they are established.

¹⁰ Federal Children's Bureau Publication 224: *The County as an Administrative Unit for Social Work*, 1933, by Mary R. Colby; Paul Douglas, *Social Security in the United States*, 1936, pp. 224-227; Odum and Willard's *Systems of Public Welfare*, Chapters IX and X; and R. W. Kelso, *Science of Public Welfare*, pp. 134-140, give some of these views.

¹¹ Some twenty states have tried the plan in some form.

gether lacking in actual experience with county wide administration of welfare. Practically one half the population of the State has been meeting its welfare problems since 1925 through the administrative machinery provided by the Cook County Bureau of Public Welfare. Relief to the indigent has been included in the responsibilities of this county wide organization. While the problems of organization and administration in a county with nearly 4,000,000 people must necessarily differ somewhat from the problems in smaller and more rural counties, the advantages of the principle of coordination are equally important in each type of county.

Several other Illinois counties besides Cook County have experimented with administrative organization which has partaken of some of the features of the county welfare unit. The writer has attempted to collect factual information regarding these experiments, the most salient features of which are reviewed in the following paragraphs. While only four counties will be included in this summary, experiments of similar nature may have been carried on in other counties of the state which it was not possible to discover because of lack of time and means available for the study.

In all four of these counties the county plan was evidently set up with special reference to relief for the poor (still legally but unfortunately, "pauper aid" in Illinois), although some other welfare services were included in at least one of the counties. Before the county wide experiments it was the custom in these counties as in all counties of the state organized on the township basis,¹² for the township supervisor, who is also the legal overseer of the poor, to administer public

poor relief in his own township. The supervisors from all the townships of the county constituted collectively the county board, which levied a county tax to cover the cost of relief. During the experiments under consideration each of three of the four counties had one person appointed to act as overseer of the poor in all the townships of the county, while the fourth county appointed a county investigator to examine into the merits of each case before relief was granted by the respective township supervisors. The writer can not be certain as to the motive of the county boards of supervisors in undertaking the experiments in these four counties,¹³ but one clear result was the reduction of costs in the administration of relief. In each of the counties studied the person in charge of the administration of relief during the experiment had received some training in social service administration, either in training courses, or in apprenticeship with social agencies, or both; but none was a graduate of a regular school for professional training in social work.

In De Witt County the unified administration of relief was tried for only four months, during the winter of 1930-1931. Following reorganization of the county board of supervisors in the spring of 1931 the county overseer was relieved of his office. The report of the retiring overseer shows a careful knowledge of the families he had assisted and represents a reduction in expenditure of \$4,000 compared with the same period of the previous year. This reduction was in spite of the deepening depression. The overseer had made use of such projects as community canning of vegetables for the needy and clearing of

¹² Of the 102 counties of Illinois, 84 are organized on a township plan, while the remainder operate under a Board of County Commissioners.

¹³ Other motives implied in the remarks of supervisors were: getting rid of the responsibility for deciding whether families applying for relief really needed it and giving a trial to persons "specializing" in relief administration (although many individual supervisors were skeptical on this last point).

wood lots to supply their fuel. The able bodied members of the relief families performed the labor on these projects.

In Tazewell County, the county wide overseer was in charge from July, 1929, through December, 1930, reducing relief expenditures by about \$7,000 a year under the plan. Expenditures in 1929 were approximately \$42,000 but were reduced to \$35,000 for 1930. Before this, relief costs had risen year by year from \$21,000 in 1921 to \$40,000 in 1928. The reduction under the county overseer was made in the face of an implied better knowledge of actual conditions of need and of the increasing demands of the depression years. Also, the supervisor in one of the most populous townships continued to give relief of his own choosing during most of this time.

Logan County put the administration of poor relief on a county wide basis under a "county agent" in 1926. This official was also county probation officer and had responsibility for administering mothers' pensions. For the five years preceding the inauguration of this county wide plan for relief administration the average annual expenditure for public relief in the county was approximately \$16,000. For the period 1926-1930, following the employing of the county agent, the average annual public relief bill was \$7,000.

In June, 1921, Sangamon County, of which Springfield is the county seat, employed a "county investigator" to review relief cases for the supervisors before aid was given. Capitol Township, which is practically identical with the city of Springfield and which has about 70,000 of the 110,000 people in Sangamon County, made the most use of the county investigator, while the supervisors in the rural townships of the county went on very much as before. For the four years preceding the employing of the investigator

the expenditures for public poor relief in the county were: 1917, \$32,000; 1918, \$33,000; 1919, \$42,000; 1920, \$40,000; and for 1921, during which year the investigator began her work, \$30,000. In contrast with the foregoing, the annual expenditures for the nine years following the coming of the investigator, 1922 to 1930, were, respectively: \$27,814; \$24,490; \$23,218; \$29,666; \$29,581; \$30,900; \$23,296; \$23,817 and \$32,542.¹⁴ Relief expenditures for the city of Springfield, alone, where the investigator did most of her work, were reduced more than one half on the basis of average annual expenditures before and after the experiment began. This reduction was achieved notwithstanding a considerable increase in population during the period under study.

The county investigator's report in the quarterly records of the proceedings of the board of supervisors shows that this official was rendering a rather high type of service to needy persons and families. For example, the report for the quarter ending May 31, 1929, lists the number of families receiving aid in Capitol Township, analyzed as to number of children, adults, and persons past 65 years of age. Also listed is the number of applications for blind pensions, ambulance calls, cases assisted during quarantine, and pauper burials. That the investigator really knew the families under care is evidenced by the analysis in this report of family problems dealt with under nine major types. During the quarter the record shows 357 office conferences, 238 telephone calls, and (most instructive) 176 visits in

¹⁴ The Finn Law, effective June, 1931, turned relief administration and financing back to the several townships, making county-wide experiments in relief administration very difficult, if not impossible, as long as this statute was in force. July 1, 1935, relief responsibility was again transferred to the county board, only to be returned to the townships July 1, 1936.

behalf of families. It would seem, therefore, that the reduction of expenditures recorded in the previous paragraph of this article was accomplished at the same time that the quantity and quality of necessary service to dependent families were being improved.¹⁵

One result which the experiences in all four of these counties produced in common was: public relief administration was carried on at a greatly reduced cost, in some instances as much as one half, with no apparent reduction in the quantity or quality of service given to dependents—indeed, with improved service, if reports are to be taken at their face value. Three new factors appear in these experiments, all of which many welfare leaders regard as contributing to better welfare administration. These are: (1) county-wide administration with its advantages of co-ordination and economies of unified supervision; (2) practically full-time devotion of the county overseer to the specific work of welfare (especially relief) administration;¹⁶ and (3) some special preparation by the official in charge either in training courses or in apprentice service of welfare agencies or both. It would be difficult to segregate the influence of each of these factors in the experiments reviewed here and to assign a relative proportion in the

results obtained to each. It is probable that all three were important.

This study of county-wide experiments of welfare administration in Illinois leaves much to be desired. A greater number of counties participating,¹⁷ a longer period of experimentation (especially for some of the counties whose experience is reviewed in this article), and better records of services rendered before and after the experiment began would add to the significance of comparisons. If the experiments had included many more welfare services of the counties observed in addition to poor relief, the economy and efficiency of the county-wide plan would have had a better test. If some of the workers included had possessed even more adequate training, the comparisons would have been fairer as to the influence of training on the effectiveness of county administration plans. But even these short experiments carried on under limited circumstances have very favorable implications as to the value of coördinating welfare services on a county-wide basis under trained supervision.

It is to be remembered that the county experiences just reviewed were in the period before state and federal relief came in to complicate the question of local expenditures. For the most part the experiments were in pre-depression or early depression years and therefore represent

¹⁵ This, of course, assumes that the supervisors of the counties studied did not expend the time and effort to know the actual needs of dependent families as well as these county overseers. Records of supervisors are really too incomplete to determine exactly what services they have rendered. The assumption of the writer is based on the remarks of county auditors and of supervisors themselves to the effect that the typical supervisor assumes that he knows the families of his area without needing to investigate further upon application for relief.

¹⁶ The supervisor is usually a farmer or business man who must look after his own personal business. His official duties make him responsible for roads, bridges, etc., also.

¹⁷ As something of a control study by which to check the reduction of relief expenditures in the four experimental counties, six other counties under the more ordinary plans of relief administration were brought into comparison. These counties were: Peoria, Bureau, De Kalb, Lee, McLean and Vermilion. It was found that these six counties, collectively, had increased relief expenditures during the years, 1921-1930, so that in 1930 they were 31 per cent higher than in 1921 and that the population had increased in the same period by only 9 per cent. By way of contrast, the four counties with county-wide administration reduced relief expenditures by 25 to 50 per cent with a population increase also of a little more than 9 per cent for the same period.

rather typical experiences that might be expected in county-wide administration over a long period of years.

All the counties of Illinois have had limited experience in county wide administration of relief under the county plan of the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission, some of them ever since the organization of the Commission in February, 1932. But this relief has been of an emergency nature, the local supervisors being supposed to maintain at the same time the more chronically dependent cases. Emergency relief expenditures, both for counties as a whole and for separate families, have exceeded the previous amount spent by supervisors. Why should the cost of relief under a county wide administration with trained workers in the emergency relief organization greatly exceed relief costs under the supervisors when the review of county wide administration in the four counties referred to in this article shows a reduction in relief costs over the expenditure by supervisors?¹⁸

There are two lines of explanation for this difference. One is that in the emergency of the depression there are not only more persons needing relief but persons and families on relief are more completely dependent upon relief, as even casual employment is scarce. The other explanation is along the line of difference between

administration of relief by persons with only general qualifications and by persons specially qualified for this work. Public administration of relief without case work service is noted (or even notorious) in the history of relief administration as being mechanical, making little difference in the amount of relief given to families with different needs or in grants to the same needy families under very different circumstances. It is not difficult to understand, therefore, that in good times when needs are not so urgent the untrained administrator of relief makes grants to more families than does the skilled worker who examines more carefully into the needs of each case and often finds other ways than relief to meet many of the problems of the dependent. Likewise, the more careful study of needs of families by case workers raises both the number of families assisted and the amount of the grants to dependents during times of great general distress.

If greater efficiency and economy have been effected by substituting county wide administration of poor relief for the less integrated administration of the supervisors, as illustrated by the four experiments reviewed in this paper, it is believed that still further advantages could be secured by coördinating all the welfare services of a county in one integrated county administration of welfare. Previous to the enactment of the provisions for administering old age assistance through county and district¹⁹ welfare departments in counties of less than 500,000, there have existed laws in Illinois permitting a number of county wide administered welfare services functioning independently of each

¹⁸ No attempt was made to secure the average amount given per family on relief by supervisors in the experiments of this study, but one supervisor submitted a list of forty families, ranging up to seven in a family, with a maximum grant of twelve dollars per family per month. One single-member family received eight dollars while a widow with six children received ten dollars. The average was ten dollars per family per month. The May, 1936, Monthly Bulletin on Relief Statistics of the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission (page 4) gives \$31.47 as the average amount spent per family for the preceding month for the more than 300,000 families on its rolls. (The average for March, 1936, was \$23.95. See April, 1936, Bull., p. 4.)

¹⁹ The district department is provided for in case two or more counties find it to their advantage to unite and form jointly a department of public welfare which could be more efficiently and economically administered than separate county departments.

other.²⁰ A comprehensive plan of coordinating all these services, along with the new services of the social security legislation as they become effective in the state, under one county welfare department properly related to the state Department of Public Welfare for insuring standards and making reports would have a great deal to commend it to the citizens of the state. Such a plan would not necessitate the displacement of the regularly elected officers of the county or the county commissioners or supervisors. . . . The commissioners or supervisors would still have the power of appropriation. The judge of the Juvenile Court would still have all his present functions. But these officials would have the aid of the county welfare board, representing the best intelligence and public spirit of the county, in attempting the solution of the welfare problems of the county.

Legislation passed by the 59th General Assembly providing for county boards of public welfare commissioners and county

superintendents of public welfare with the county and state cooperating with the federal government in financing and setting standards for old age assistance, represents the largest step forward yet taken in the direction of a county welfare unit in Illinois.²¹ If a number of counties will take advantage of the opportunity permitted by this legislation and will extend the administrative control of the county board of welfare commissioners to include all the county welfare services possible, a fine experimental trial of the county unit plan will thereby be provided as a criterion for further development of county welfare practice in this state. Such experimentation would seem to be greatly desirable unless and until more definite legislation is enacted toward this goal, and in any case experience will prove valuable in shaping necessary legislation and in its practical administration.

²⁰ For example the poor relief experiments mentioned in the body of this article. Other services legally permitted on a county wide basis are: Mothers' aid, detention home, juvenile court work, pensions to the blind and visitation of children's institutions. Legal authority has existed for social service work in connection with these services on a county basis but it has been little used, apparently.

²¹ Many students of welfare administration are convinced that the responsibilities of administration in connection with the many public welfare services springing up in the various states and in the nation will require a somewhat different training and preparation from that of the social worker of the past. Principles and practice of government organization and administration must figure more largely in such training for the future. The positions in a county welfare unit administration will certainly share in this new demand.

(Continued from p. 237)

defectives, paupers, and criminals. If men can no longer live by working steadily, we must find means to make their lot tolerable. Otherwise, they will destroy our economic system. *Third, we can find better ways to conduct our common affairs.* Neither tyranny, nor mob rule are necessary for those who understand the art of self-government.

In addition to these proceedings, two technical reports were given. The Committee on Research, Professor C. W. Topping, Chairman, reported on Research in the Pacific Northwest. The Committee on Teaching the Introductory Course, Professor Charles H. Dann, Chairman, reported on a survey of how schools of the Pacific Northwest are handling the course. The advisability of a survey course in social science was raised in discussion.

During business meetings of the Northern Division of the Pacific Sociological Society, officers were elected as follows: Chairman, Fred R. Yoder, Washington State College; Member Research Committee, Norman S. Hayner, University of Washington; Chairman of Committee on Teaching, Charles H. Dann, Oregon State College; Permanent Secretary, John A. Rademaker, University of Washington. Dr. Howard B. Woolston asked the expression of an official attitude of the Northern Division toward three proposals which he is preparing to present to the American Sociological Society in December. The Division approved each of the three proposals unanimously and asked Dr. Woolston to present them to the American Sociological Society as officially approved suggestions of the Northern Branch of the Pacific Sociological Society. Professors H. B. Woolston and Charles H. Dann were elected as representatives to the General Council of the Western Division of the A. A. A. S.

A STUDY OF PUBLICATIONS IN NATIONAL AND STATE PENAL AND CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTIONS IN THE UNITED STATES

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AS A foreword to this study, it should be stated that, in this country, material on the subject of prison publications is very limited and is confined mostly to magazine articles, the *Proceedings* of the Annual Congress of the National Prison Association, writings of ex-convicts, and the prison publications themselves. Therefore it was found necessary to supplement this limited bibliography with information obtained by sending out a questionnaire to 266 of our national and state penal and correctional institutions.¹ From this questionnaire, it was hoped to learn how many institutions have a journal or paper; the date of the first issue; by whom the work is done, inmates or officials; official restrictions on the nature of the material published; whether the publications are believed to have rehabilitative value; the extent of outside circulation and to whom the publications go; and finally, if possible to obtain a brief history of each publication.

In answer to the questionnaire sent out, 256 institutions replied. Of this number, 155 reported that they did not publish a prison journal or paper. Of these, 45 gave no reason whatever; 22 reported that the main reason for the lack of a publication was financial; and the remaining 88 offered a variety of reasons. The following statements will suggest how varied some of these negative answers were:

¹ The Official Directory, June, 1934, of State and National Correctional Institutions of the United States of America and Canada, compiled by the American Prison Association, was used.

A state prison with an average male population of 1500 in 1933, and a capacity for 900, relied that "no effort has ever been made to launch a prison journal."

A state convict farm reported that "the inmates are used mostly in farming enterprises."

A state correctional school for girls reported that "we do not consider it would be of sufficient benefit to merit the work entailed for an institution of 150 girls."

A state reformatory for boys stated that "frankly, very few (referring to the inmates) seem to be worth while."

A state prison with an average male population in 1933 of 207 replied that "we do not have idle inmates to make up such a paper. All inmates are employed by the State on various industries recently installed."

The Superintendent of a state training school for girls gave as her reason for the lack of a school paper the following: "I would not care to have the girls' names go out over the state, and we do not have facilities for editing one, nor do we have the time as the details we have keep everybody busy."

Twenty-seven institutions reported that they had discontinued their publication; and 15 others hoped to start a publication in the near future.

It seems that financial inadequacy and lack of equipment are important in accounting for the absence of prison publications in so many institutions. Lack of administrative sympathy for a project of this kind, and lack of mental, literary, and organizing ability among the inmates must also be taken into consideration. Yet, despite this large number of institutions reporting in the negative, it is encouraging to find that 103 institutions are publishing a prison or institutional journal.

With one or two exceptions,² it has been

² For example: Warden Sullivan writes briefly as follows concerning the *Prison Mirror*, the publication

impossible to secure adequate information concerning the early history of the prison publications. Apparently, in the majority of institutions publishing a prison journal, no record has been kept of the development of the journal other than that it was issued on a certain date. The following are the oldest prison publications, in this country, all of them being started prior to 1900: The Summary, Elmira Reformatory, New York—1883; Our Paper, Massachusetts State Reformatory—1885; The Prison Mirror, Minnesota State Prison—1887; The Riverside, State Training School for Boys, Minnesota—1888; The Advance, New Jersey State Home for Boys—1888; Industrial Training School News, Colorado State Industrial School—1890; Ohio Penitentiary News, Ohio Penitentiary, Ohio—1894; The Pioneer, Illinois State Reformatory—1895—discontinued, August 20, 1934; Industrial School Journal, Boys' Industrial School, Ohio—1895; The Monthly Record, Connecticut State Prison—1897; Men's Reformatory Press, Men's Reformatory, Iowa—1898.

The replies to the questionnaire showed that from 1900 to 1910, 4 prison journals made their appearance; from 1910 to 1920, 11 more were started; from 1920 to 1930, 19 were issued for the first time; and from 1930 to 1934, 45 were published for the first time. It is most encouraging to note, from these figures, that of the 103 journals now issued, almost 50 per cent of them were started during the last four years. No doubt, since these figures were obtained new journals have been published. However, this information concerning the dates of the first issues of these prison

of the Minnesota State Prison: "By consent of the Warden and \$200 loaned by some of the inmates in 1887, the paper was able to be started. The notorious Younger brothers, Cole, James, and Bob, were the men who advocated the publishing of such a paper."

journals, must not be considered complete since 12 institutions, in answering the questionnaire, either did not know the date of the first issue of their publication or failed to answer the question.

The answers to the question as to the extent of outside circulation of the publications must have included, in many cases, the total circulation, within and without the institution. We must keep this in mind when reading the following figures which summarize the statements as to the extent of outside circulation among those institutions answering this question: 2 institutions, with an average population of 481-7581 inmates have an outside circulation of 8,000 to 9,000 copies; 12 institutions, with an average population of 159-2874 inmates, 1,000 to 2,000 copies; 2 with an average population of 540-1373 inmates, 800-900 copies; 3 with an average population of 220-4104, 700-800 copies; 5 with an average population of 418-3300, 600-700 copies; 5 with an average population of 240-5300, 500-600 copies; 8 with an average population of 155-1496, 400-500 copies; 7 with an average population of 100-1609, 300-400 copies; 7 with an average population of 190-3486, 200-300 copies; 5 with an average population of 224-2266, 100-200 copies; and 13 with an average population of 51-1200, 100-25 copies. There were about 11 institutions which have no outside circulation; 9 with limited circulation; 1 with no definite circulation; and several institutions did not answer the question.

It was interesting to note the variety of persons who receive these journals: inmates, former inmates on parole, inmates' families, exchanges, libraries, teachers, and friends of the institution. Yet there are only a few institutions which reported that they attempted to keep state and federal officials, judges, probation officers, and welfare workers informed of the ac-

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tivities of the institution, through the prison or institutional publication.

In answer to the question as to the rehabilitative value of a journal, 50 were of the opinion that it had *much* value; 30 that it had *little* value; and the remaining 23 either ignored the question or evaded it by phrasing the answer so that it was impossible to classify it accurately. Yet of those institutions reporting that they considered their journal to help rehabilitate the inmates *much*, only a very few attempted to amplify this statement. The following answers are typical of this last group:

The paper has a nominal influence for good and has about the same value among the boys here as this type of paper would have in a high school.

Undoubtedly help comes to those who do the actual work—just how much rehabilitative power it has generally speaking is very difficult in my mind.

It keeps the parents of the boys in touch with the school.

Difficult to measure whether the paper helps to rehabilitate the prisoners.

We feel it is of greater than zero value or we would not have it.

Great help in maintaining a high standard of inmate morale.

Gets them interested in institutional affairs.

In general, the publications of the industrial schools and reformatories for boys and for girls, are written by both the inmates and officials. The articles and editorials are supplied, in most instances, by the administrative staff. Since these publications are so closely supervised, there are no official restrictions formally imposed.

But in the majority of prisons, although the publications are edited, written, illustrated, and printed by the inmates, the material is censored by the Warden or supervised by an appointed official, such as the Religious and Educational Director, Superintendent of Printing, Restoration Director, etc.

Several prisons stated on the questionnaire, their official restrictions, of which the following are illustrative:

Every article must first be submitted to the Warden and his staff for inspection and censoring.

Articles must be confined to maintenance of good taste and the consistent administration of justice.

Copy is censored and neither condemnation nor praise of the officials of the institution is permitted.

Articles on crime, criminals, prison life, or news pertaining to prison riots are not used.

No discussion of current events (newspapers are admitted to the prison.

No religious discussion from a sectarian angle.

No political discussion.

No jokes or wise cracks at the expense of any race, religion, or person.

The majority of the questionnaires, both negative and affirmative, were answered by the warden or superintendent; of the remaining there was a miscellaneous array of signatures: Printing Instructor, Chief Clerk, Accountant, Supervisor of Boys, Educational and Religious Director, Managing Officer, Director, Community Service Division, Record Clerk, Psychologist, Restoration Director, Inmate Editor, Case Worker, Chaplain, etc. There were a few questionnaires unsigned.

When the questionnaire was sent out, a request was made for a copy of the institution paper or magazine, if one was printed. Sixty-nine institutions sent a copy of their paper or magazine. Of these, it may be noted that:

In publications from the state juvenile schools and reformatories for boys, no provision is made for any columns or enough columns for the literary productions of the boys. Their contributions are limited chiefly to news of the shops and cottages. There does not seem to be any legitimate reason why original work could not be encouraged under competent guidance and supervision.

The printing of the journals and the reporting of school news and activities are done by the students, under the supervision of the English teacher and the Printing Instructor. But the articles and editorials are supplied, in many instances, by the administrative

staff. This division of tasks is more common to the boys' schools than to the schools for girls.

In the majority of the correctional schools for girls, on the other hand, the journals are a definite project either of the English classes or the Commercial Departments. Local news items and chatter, reprinted material, and original compositions supply the contents of these journals. The girls undoubtedly derive much pleasure from these publications as well as educational and vocational training. A few of these journals are printed but the majority are mimeographed.

As to the publications from the state penitentiaries, they vary from a two-page newspaper to a magazine of considerable size. The work of writing, editing, printing, and illustrating these journals is done mostly by the inmates under the supervision of the Warden or Director of Education. Many of these publications probably owe their success to a competent inmate editor who, prior to this commitment, may have had experience or training in literary work of some kind. That these prison journals are mainly a source of entertainment to the majority of the inmates explains the prominent place which jokes, inmate chatter, and humorous features, have in the contents of these journals. Yet those institutions which do encourage more serious articles are to be complimented on the excellence of the material printed.

It must be remembered, however, that in most instances only one copy of a paper was analyzed and these comments are not therefore conclusive.

These journals vary in size, set-up, attractiveness, frequency of publication, contents, and aims and purposes. The range of circulation, outside and within the institution, vary from 9,000 to 25 copies an issue.

The information obtained from the answers to the questionnaire and from the available copies of the journals themselves suggests the following as possible rehabilitative values which might be obtained from prison publications:

1. *A Source of Entertainment.* To those inmates who are able to read, even though they may not be able to contribute, the journal or newspaper does add to their entertainment through the articles, jokes, stories, inmate chatter, special features, etc.

2. *A Recreational Value.* Undoubtedly for those who actively participate in the writing, editing, printing, and illustrating of the publication, there is a recreational opportunity.

3. *A Socializing Force.* If an inmate is kept busy, in his leisure time, doing something he enjoys, it helps to adjust him mentally and socially; and, if he participates in the preparation of the journal, he learns to work harmoniously with others. The journal is also an aid in reducing enforced idleness.

4. *An Outlet for Self-Expression.* Literary ability and talent, that otherwise might stagnate or fade away, may be stimulated to activity under competent guidance. The journal furnishes a possible outlet for expressing those thoughts which dominate the minds of men during the long evenings spent within the barred cells. Of course, it is obvious that a well-balanced censorship would have to be placed on many such contributions for the protection of the inmate himself as well as for the others.

5. *An Educational Value.* a. A journal can become a distinct educational value for those who may not write well, but who have a wealth of interesting experiences which might be put into literary form under competent guidance. To realize this value, it would be necessary to establish classes in English composition and journalism in order to aid such inmates.

b. A journal has great educational possibilities in the dissemination of penological and sociological information among the inmates. Thus it may become an indirect factor in advancing their reformation. Yet such contributions must be balanced with articles of a lighter vein, or otherwise the journal would become so ponderous as to defeat one of its most important values—that of entertainment.

c. These prison journals, if allowed outside circulation, have an educational value in permitting the public to know something about the life and activities within the institutions, as well as revealing the thoughts, hopes, and ideals of some of the people who make up the prison population.

6. *A Vocational Value.* These journals provide specific training in printing, proof-reading, as well as journalistic training for those who edit and prepare the material submitted.

A full attainment of these values listed depends on the sympathetic attitude of the administration towards prison journals; the vocational and educational program in force within the institution; and finally, on the mental and literary ability available among the inmates.

When we consider Mr. MacCormick's statement that "nearly 75 per cent of our prison population have gone no farther than sixth grade in formal schooling,"³ we wonder that there are any prison journals published. His statement raises the question as to what percentage of the prison population is able to contribute and does contribute to these journals. There is no doubt but that a small percentage does contribute. It might be possible to obtain this information and determine an approximate percentage, if a complete library of all prison journals was available. Even though only a small percentage of inmates contributes, in proportion to the inmate population as a whole, the remaining members undoubtedly receive enjoyment and entertainment from these publications. For those inmates, who can neither read nor write, a prison journal is probably of no value.

According to the returns from the questionnaire there were in the United States, prior to 1900, about 11 such papers or journals in existence. This number of 11 has increased gradually until by 1935, there are approximately 103 institutions, out of a possible 266, publishing a journal or newspaper. Of these, 24 made their initial appearance in 1933 and 1934. Of the remaining institutions, 155 either have no journal or have discontinued it. Five institutions are not accounted for; and of the remaining three, two are out of existence and the third is not under the jurisdiction of the State Prison Commission.

These publications will undoubtedly increase in number and attain higher standards when the administrative personnel of the institutions are improved; when sufficient appropriations are provided by the state legislatures so that well-rounded educational, vocational and recreational

programs can be established in all institutions.

A 1935 DIRECTORY OF ACTIVE AND DISCONTINUED PRISON JOURNALS

As obtained from the Questionnaire Sent Out to All Institutions Listed in the Official Directory, June, 1934; as Compiled by the American Prison Association

1. Alabama Boys' Industrial School—The Boys Banner
2. Arizona State Industrial School—Young Citizen formerly the Gleaner
3. California State Prison, San Quentin—The Bulletin
4. Preston School of Industry, California—Preston Review
5. Whittier State School, California—The Sentinel
6. Colorado State Industrial School—Industrial Training School News
7. Connecticut School for Boys—Hilltop Hubbub
8. Connecticut State Farm for Women—The Star—(discontinued)
Connecticut State Prison for Women
9. Connecticut State Prison—The Monthly Record
10. Long Lane Farm, Connecticut—The Daisy Leaf
11. Delaware Industrial School for Girls—Woods Haven Echoes
12. New Castle County Workhouse, Delaware—Greenbank News—(discontinued)
13. Women's Prison, Delaware—Greenbank News—(discontinued)
14. National Training School for Boys, Washington, D. C.—The Boys' Opportunity
15. Florida Industrial School for Boys—The Yellow Jacket
16. Florida State Farm—State Farm News
17. Idaho Industrial Training School—The Gem State Argus
18. St. Charles School for Boys, Illinois—The Boy Agriculturist
19. State Reformatory, Illinois—The Pioneer—(discontinued)
20. Illinois State Penitentiary—Joliet Post—(discontinued)
21. State Training School for Girls, Illinois—Campus Gazette
22. State Reformatory for Woman, Illinois—Trail Blazer
23. House of Correction, Illinois—The Corrector
24. Indiana Boys' School—Indiana Boys' School Herald
25. Indiana Reformatory—The Reflector
26. Men's Reformatory, Iowa—Reformatory Press

³ Austin H. MacCormick, "Light in Dark Places," *Adult Education I*, (April, 1929), pp. 129-141.

27. Iowa Training School for Boys—The Training School Echo
28. Iowa State Penitentiary—The Presidio
29. Industrial School for Boys, Kansas—Oasaycap Chronicle
30. Girls' Industrial School, Kansas—Sunflower Gazette—(discontinued)
31. Kansas State Industrial Reformatory—The Reformatory Herald
32. Kansas State Penitentiary—The Golden Rule—(discontinued)
33. Kentucky State Reformatory—Mutual Welfare Journal—(discontinued)
34. Kentucky Houses of Reform—Blue Grass Messenger—(discontinued)
35. Louisville and Jefferson County Children's Home, Kentucky—Ormsby Village News
36. State Industrial School for Girls, Louisiana—Demi-Tasse Dispatch—(discontinued)
37. State School for Girls, Maine—Hilltop News
38. Maine State Prison—Vox—(discontinued)
39. Maryland Training School for Boys—School News—(discontinued)
40. Maryland House of Correction—M. H. C. Bulletin
41. Maryland Penitentiary—Square Deal—(discontinued)
42. Montrose School for Girls, Maryland—The Oriole
43. Industrial School for Girls, Massachusetts—The Threshold—1934-1935—name changes each year
44. Massachusetts Reformatory—Our Paper
45. Massachusetts Reformatory for Women—Seed—Poetry; Town Crier—Current Events
46. Massachusetts State Prison—The Mentor
47. Massachusetts State Prison Colony—The Colony
48. Michigan State Prison—The Spectator
49. Michigan Reformatory—The Hill-Top News
50. Boys Vocational School, Michigan—The Vocational Enterprise
51. Girls' Training School, Michigan—Tuba Oppidi—(discontinued)
52. State House of Correction and Branch of Michigan State Prison—Marquette Inmate
53. Detroit House of Correction, Michigan—De-Ho-Co News formerly Progress
54. Home School for Girls, Minnesota,—Home School Journal
55. Minnesota State Prison—The Prison Mirror
56. Minnesota State Reformatory—The Pillar formerly The Owl
57. State Training School for Boys, Minnesota—The Riverside
58. Missouri Training School for Boys—Our Boys' Magazine
59. State Industrial Home for Girls, Missouri—New Deal
60. Industrial Home for Negro Girls, Missouri—Hello—Quarterly; Progress—Annual
61. Algoa Farms—Intermediate Reformatory, Missouri—Algoa Floodlights
62. Montana State Industrial School—The Boys' Messenger
63. Vocational School for Girls, Montana—Meadow Lark
64. State Industrial School, Nebraska—State Industrial School Times
65. N. J. State Home for Boys—The Advance
66. N. J. State Home for Girls—School Spirit
67. N. J. State Reformatory—The N. J. R. News
68. N. J. State Reformatory for Women—The Assembly Observer—(discontinued)
69. N. J. Reformatory—The Reflector
70. Sing Sing Prison, New York—Star of Hope, and Star-Bulletin—(discontinued)
71. Albion State Training School, New York—The News Box
72. Westfield State Farm, New York—Campus Frolic
73. Elmira Reformatory, New York—The Summary
74. Institution for Male Defective Delinquents, New York—Nip-An-Tuck
75. Attica State Prison, New York—The Attican
76. Walkill State Prison, New York—The Medium—(discontinued)
77. N. Y. State Training School for Boys—State School News
78. N. Y. State Industrial and Agricultural School—Industry Monthly News—(discontinued)
79. North Carolina State Prison—Prison News
80. Stonewall Jackson Training School, North Carolina—The Uplift
81. North Dakota State Penitentiary—The Reflector—(discontinued)
82. State Training School—North Dakota—S. T. Siren
83. Boys' Industrial School, Ohio—Industrial School Journal
84. Girls' Industrial School, Ohio—G. I. S. World
85. Ohio Penitentiary—Ohio Penitentiary News
86. Ohio State Reformatory—The New Day formerly The Reformatory Chronicle, and The Bulletin
87. London Prison Farm, Ohio—London Prison Farmer
88. State Industrial School for Girls (White), Oklahoma—The Climbers' Record formerly Cross Roads
89. Oklahoma State Penitentiary—The Tidings
90. Oregon State Penitentiary—Lend a Hand—(discontinued)

91. State Training School for Boys, Oregon—Our Boys formerly Campus Cullings—(discontinued)
92. Eastern State Penitentiary, Pennsylvania—Pen Points—(discontinued)
93. The Glen Mills Schools, Pennsylvania—The Boys Journal
94. Sleighton Farm, Pennsylvania—Question
95. Pennsylvania Industrial School—Reformatory Record
96. Western State Penitentiary, Pennsylvania—Keystone
97. Western State Penitentiary (Rockview Branch), Pennsylvania—Rock Re-View
98. State Prison and Providence County Jail, Rhode Island (State Reformatory for Men)—Question
99. Sockanosset Boys' School, Rhode Island—The Pow-Wow
100. South Dakota Penitentiary—The Messenger
101. State Training and Agricultural School for Boys—The Flash
102. Tennessee Vocational School for Girls (White)—Hi-Lights of T. V. S.
103. State Juvenile Training School, Texas—Texas Training School News
104. Utah State Prison—The Utah Penwiper
105. State Industrial School, Utah—Good Citizen—(discontinued)
106. Vermont State Prison—The Sentinel—(discontinued)
107. Vermont Industrial School—Echoes—(discontinued)
108. Virginia Home and Industrial School for Girls—Kilbourne Chronicle—(discontinued)
109. Virginia Industrial School for Boys—V. I. S. News
110. Virginia Industrial School for Colored Girls—The Booster
111. Virginia Penitentiary—The Beacon
112. Washington State Penitentiary—Agenda
113. Washington State Reformatory—The Activian
114. State School for Girls, Washington—Campus Echoes
115. State Training School for Boys, Washington—The New Leaf
116. West Virginia Industrial Home for Girls—The Industrial Breezes formerly The Sparks
117. Wisconsin Industrial School for Boys—Big Brother
118. Wyoming Industrial Institute—The Buzzer
119. U. S. Penitentiary, Leavenworth, Kansas—The New Era
120. U. S. Penitentiary, McNeil Island, Washington—Island Lantern
121. U. S. Penitentiary, Atlanta, Georgia—Good Words
122. U. S. North-Eastern Penitentiary, Lewisburg, Pennsylvania—The Periscope
123. Federal Industrial Institution for Women, Alderson, West Virginia—The Eagle
124. U. S. Industrial Reformatory, Chillicothe, Ohio—The Beacon
125. U. S. South-Western Reformatory, El Reno, Oklahoma—The Outlook
126. Federal Correctional Camp, Fort Eustis, Lee Hall, Virginia—Camp Fire—(discontinued)
127. U. S. Detention Farm, La Tuna, Texas—The Raven

RURAL POPULATION STUDY

Virginia Polytechnic Institute has released the following:

The Virginia Agricultural Experiment Station began on the first of July, under the direction of W. E. Garnett, a project entitled, "A Study of the High Degree of Marginality Among Virginia's Rural Population." The project will be divided into a number of sub-units and will be continued over several years. The chief point of focus in the first sub-unit is trends in differential birth rates of the several social strata groups, vertical social circulation, and the rôle of heredity in producing marginality. In studying this aspect of the subject much environmental data are also being collected and considered. The procedures include the collection and analysis of the record of a number of family strains for a century and a half to note their vertical social circulation tendencies. Special attention is being given to the influences which seem to account for sub-strains going up or down the social scale. Since Virginia society is highly stratified and since records going back to colonial times are fairly well preserved, this is proving a very fertile field of study.

Data collected in connection with other studies indicate that over 100,000 white families or approximately one-half of the white rural population of Virginia may be classed as marginal from the standpoint of income, education, and living standards. Our mimeographed circulars, "Does Virginia Care?" and "A State Challenge" giving preliminary reports on the data in question awakened wide interest in the marginal population problem. They led to the State Planning Board setting up a special marginal population committee to work out policies for dealing with the problem. This committee includes in its membership some of the state's most outstanding educational, social, farm, business, and organizational leaders. W. E. Garnett Rural Sociologist of the Virginia Agricultural Experiment Station is also serving as chairman of this committee.

MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY

Contributions to this Department will include original articles, reports of conferences, special investigations and research, and programs relating to marriage and the family. It is edited by Ernest R. Groves of the University of North Carolina, who would like to receive reports and copies of any material relating to the family and marriage.

A SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY OF THE STANDARD OF LIVING

JITSUICHI MASUOKA

University of Hawaii

I

WITHIN a communal social order an individual is accorded recognition and security by virtue of his membership in the family or the kinship group. His social rôle, his wants and his choices are conditioned and controlled by his immediate family or by the community. To a communal person, the mode of living is not a subject of reflection and criticism. His way of living is wholly a matter of custom and is deeply rooted in the group mores. Differences in the planes of living become the symbols of prestige, power, and status. Ordinarily a person living in the less mobile society is so accustomed to the use of time and of material things, to the use of certain kinds of food and styles of clothing, that he does not reflect seriously about them. He simply takes them for granted. This is because each new generation inherits the pattern of attitudes towards social and economic values, which in turn conditions individual choices and wants. And in the absence of the impact of sharply contrasting cultures from without, the person is seldom self-conscious about his mode of living. Thus, the *standard of living* never becomes explicit in a communal society.¹

¹ It is interesting to note in this connection that the development of the study of the standard of living

When, however, a people has passed beyond the communal stage so far that social control is considerably weakened, the individual, as such, makes his appearance. His mode of living is in a measure freed from the mores, and he lives more or less according to his personal choice. Choosing involves the setting up of standards, which, when reflected upon, become more and more explicit. It is in this sense that the modern man has a *standard of living*.

The nature of social relationships among individuals in modern society is formal and abstract. Each individual is known to others not by his whole personality and character, but by his perceptible traits, such as the character of his clothing, of his house, the kind of automobile he drives, and the locality of his residence. An urban person, unlike communal men, is notoriously inept in his judgment of other people's character, but is extremely conscious of their social status and of their

and the cost of living in Japan is comparatively recent. "Scarcely a dozen years ago," writes K. Morimoto, "the investigation of subjects relating to economic consumption was in an embryonic stage. In 1918, when my thesis on 'The Standard of Living in Japan' was published by the Johns Hopkins Press, certain economic journals in western countries greeted it with the observation that it was the first research relative to economic consumption in Japan," *The Efficiency Standard of Living in Japan*, 1931, p. 1.

struggle for a higher plane of living.² It is this motive—a desire to maintain a definite status within a class, and at the same time to surpass other individuals in the same social group, which accounts for so much expenditure of money upon economic goods which have so little utility from the standpoint of health and physical efficiency. It accounts for one's endless desire to make a good appearance.

This general process of de-communalization of persons is most conspicuous where the impact of Western civilization on the indigenous culture is the greatest. Everywhere westernization is a natural product of two historical processes, namely, the economic and political expansion of European people, and human migration. Where the contacts of cultures are the results of economic and political expansion, the changes in technology may be very great while the fundamental attitudes toward the mores remain almost unchanged. This is true in the case of the westernization of Japan. But where the contacts of divergent cultures are the results of moving into a new area as in the case of the numerous immigrant groups in the United States, the modifications in the more subtle aspects of the life of the people are not so long delayed. This relatively rapid change in the social situation results in conflicts, and in order to work out an accommodation the immigrants are under the necessity of reflecting about their ways of living. Hawaii has been such an area of immigration. Owing to Hawaii's plantation system there is a remarkably wide range in the planes of living, as well as in the sharply contrasted cultural backgrounds. Thus it affords a suitable social laboratory for the study of the standards of living and of the general problem of acculturation and

assimilation of the immigrants and their children.

II

The standard of living is, unlike the *plane* of living, a thing that exists in the mind of individuals. "It is, in essence, a psychological thing, a concept more or less definitely represented in material life by those necessities and comforts which a man has been accustomed to regard as his right and without which he would not consider life worth while."³ It is a dynamic factor in the life of an individual, defining, conditioning, and controlling his scheme of living. The standard of living in this sense expresses itself overtly in the individual's choices of food, clothes, housing, and household furniture. Subjectively, it reveals itself in the wishing for, planning for, and struggling for a higher status in the community. The people reveal their standards in their educational aims, their saving and their plans for the use of their savings in the future, as well as in their choice of food, clothes, and luxuries.

The Japanese women living on a plantation have their standards. One gives evidence of a standard in the following words:

Our daughter is fourteen years old, and is now a sophomore at M— High School. One day our daughter told me that one of her teachers had asked her what she was going to do when she finishes high school. She told her teacher that she would be very likely working to help the family. The teacher told our daughter that she thought it was a foolish thing to do, as there is every likelihood of an opening in the teaching field in the Territory by the time she completes her university course. It would certainly be nice if we could send her to the university, if there were a certainty of getting the job when she completes her education.

I tell her often that we, my husband and I, are more than glad to eat less and save more money so

² Sumner & Keller, *The Science of Society*, pp. 585-586.

³ H. P. Sherman, *Practical Economics*, (2nd. ed.), p. 409.

that we could send her through the University of Hawaii. I am glad to take in more washing, and my husband, to make extra money by making *tansu* (the Japanese wardrobe), and washing boards. Of course our daughter is very much excited over our future plan for her. I tell her that she must be a good girl, and not the kind of a girl whom people point their fingers at. Many comments which I hear about the university girls are not too good, as you know.

Supposing that we let our daughter work after she finishes her high school education. What can she do but be a housemaid for the haole (the white people) homes and earn not more than twenty to thirty dollars a month. She could not be much of a financial help as far as her earning is concerned. Besides, she would spend most of her money in making dresses and other things, and she might feel that she has the right to do so, because it is her money. She might feel as she grows older, and sees that her friends are all better educated than she, that we have not done our duty by making her work. On the other hand, if we would send her through school and make her complete her university education, she would always be thankful and grateful toward us, and we feel that she would not desert us when we need her help.

Our plan looks foolish to some people, but this is our dream. We want to send her through the University.

That another woman has a standard may be seen from the following:

I feel that when my children,—all girls,—grow up to be of marriageable age, that is about the ages of 17 and 18, I must spend "big" money on the kimonos. When my girls grow up I know that they will ask for them, and it will mean spending a large sum of money. Here in Hawaii, the kimonos are very expensive.

Girls are very costly, you know. When my girls' friends begin to wear nice kimonos, then I know that I must let my children do the same. I cannot let them feel inferior to their friends, and unhappy about not being able to wear them like their friends. I am putting aside a few dollars every month and am buying, bit by bit, some of the very fine Japanese kimonos. Well, when my girls grow up they will have their nice kimonos waiting for them.

Last year alone I spent \$50.00 or ¥150.00 in the Japanese money, on the kimonos. I bought them directly from Japan. When one of our friends made a short visit to his home, I asked him to bring them for me. My sister in Japan did the buying. My husband was quite angry and gave me a scolding. He said that I was spending the money foolishly. But, my husband is a man, and naturally he does not

understand why I buy kimonos for the girls, who are still very young. I buy fine and expensive ones because I want to be sure that the girls are well prepared for their marriage. I cannot die in peace until I am sure that the girls have wedding attires ready for them in their *tansu*.

I am always very glad to do everything for my girls. I want to provide them with everything they need.

Obviously the standard of living, as we conceive it, is an organization of attitudes of an individual toward a system of social values which he, through living in an open class society, regards as the goal of achievement.

A psychological element involving aspirations is inherent in the concept of the standard of living.⁴ Within a more or less open society, like that of the United States and Hawaii, where vertical mobility is relatively unhampered by tradition, the desire to raise one's plane of living to the plateau occupied by the members of the higher social and economic groups is stronger than it is in the case of those people who live in a stable or closed class system. Glimpses into the mode of living of people of a higher social status may lead an individual to assume the attitude of a social climber, or it may lead him to active revolt.

While the standard of living is subjective it is not merely a matter of idle dreaming. A desire does not function as a standard unless it influences behavior in definite ways. One test relates to a man's willingness to work steadily and to endure a degree of privation so that through saving a part of his income he may achieve a superior plane of living in the future. Another test relates to the postponement of marriage or to the restriction of the size of the family. The postponement of marriage and the restriction of the size

⁴ Atkins, Edwards, Friedrich, *Economic Behavior*, chap. 33.

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of the family among the people of a particular group may serve as an index of their standard of living. For example, the fact that in Hawaii 44.1 per cent of the Japanese women 20-24 years of age were single in 1930, while among the Portuguese only 34.9 per cent were single, may be cited as evidence that the Japanese have the higher standard of living. Similarly, the falling birth rate among both Japanese and Portuguese married women is taken as evidence of a rising standard for both.

A standard of living implies a life organization in which some sorts of goods are more important than others, but it does not mean that any two persons will have precisely the same scheme of life or that any person's scheme of life remains unchanged for a long time. As one makes progress toward a realization of his standard there is a modification of this standard. What seems to be essential varies with the different levels of achievement.

Not only through personal achievement but also through social change is the scheme of life modified. Invention and discovery initiate changes from within. Migration brings about change through outside pressure. Every change in culture results in a new pattern of wants. New sets of values take the place of the old. Aspirations are redefined and new standards are set up.⁵

⁵ E. M. Patterson says: "Whatever standards may exist at a given time and place are not permanent. Human wants are indefinitely expandable; only a slight amount is essential to bare existence. But luxuries quickly become comforts and soon comforts are necessities. . . . A necessity can be defined only as any article to whose use one has become accustomed and which he will surrender with great reluctance."

"This last point is an important one. Whatever standard has been attained will be retained if possible. And the higher the level the more effort will be made to maintain and raise it." *The World's Economic Dilemma*, p. 20.

There is, however, for individuals and for peoples, a persistence of emphasis. If a man's scheme of life at forty is not like it was at twenty there is, commonly, an easily recognized continuity of values and of purposes. Among immigrant groups in America, the standards of the second generation, even though unlike those of the first, may be regarded as the logical successors to the immigrant standards. There is a constant change, but at each moment tradition and habit hold sway.

While the standard of living is primarily an individual possession it is determined largely by the culture of the group to which one belongs. To the extent that the behavior of the individuals of a group may be influenced by general social standards and hence to the extent that such behavior may differ from that of other peoples in definite ways one may speak of a group standard. If the individual standard is something in the mind, the group standard is something in the traditions of a people. Among immigrants it may be supposed that each group has its own distinctive standard, at least in the beginning. Because of its relation to individual conduct, attention must be given both to individual and group.

But while the distribution of expenditure for living is affected by the standard one may not assume that there is a direct numerical relation between the percentage distribution of income and the standard. There are what may be called the brute necessities—a minimum of food, clothing, and shelter—concerning which there may be no choice. It is the way the income over and above these minimum requirements is expended that reveals the standard. It may mean little that a family with an income of ten thousand a year spends ten per cent on education, but it may mean much that a family with one thousand a year devotes one-tenth to the same purpose.

The first step in the study of the standard of living of any people is to determine whether there is a real standard, i.e., whether the people have reflected about their way of living and whether they have in fact set up explicit standards for the control of behavior. What one looks for is evidence either that behavior is merely according to custom or that it is being organized in the interest of certain clearly conceived purposes and according to plan. There is the organization of activities through which income is secured and the organization of expenditure, saving and investment. In relation both to the securing and the using of income a family reveals whether it has a standard of living or merely a customary way of living.

At this point it may be well to digress for a moment to refer to other uses of the term "standard of living." A student may not be interested in the standard of living that a people may possess, or even in whether they possess any standard at all. He may wish merely to take the measure of their way of living to ascertain their plane of living, and for this purpose he uses his own standard or some standard agreed upon by investigators or experts of some kind. Such a standard is a standard of measurement chosen by the people who do the measuring. Sometimes the average for a class is made to serve as a standard of measurement or it may be determined partly by laboratory studies. In any case it has nothing to do with the ideals and aspirations of the people studied. This may be legitimate scientific procedure and it permits of a ranking of social classes according to the level of their respective planes of living.

If the student is interested in the creation of conditions favorable to the enjoyment of a higher plane of living by some class of people he may set up not merely a standard of measurement but a normative

standard, but the standard is still his own, not that of the people investigated. One may on the basis of such a standard make an appeal to employers, legislatures, and charitable organizations. Public policies should be such as to make it possible for people of the class concerned to live up to some specified and more or less ideal standard as conceived by social workers, dietitians, sanitary engineers, and other specialists.

III

The way of living of the people can be regarded as a cultural complex or as a behavior pattern depending upon the point of view and the interests of the students. From the standpoint of the adaptation of cultural traits to the changing social situation, one views the general problem as one of acculturation. With the emphasis on the subjective aspects one regards the problem as belonging to changes in the behavior pattern. When the people eat, sleep, furnish their houses, clothe themselves and carry on other social activities, they do not perform these functions as robots; they come to possess definite attitudes, feelings, and sentiments toward them. The methodological value of the situational approach is well stated by W. I. Thomas.

In approaching problems of behavior it is possible to emphasize—to have in the focus of attention for working purposes—either the attitudes, the value, or the situation. The attitude is the tendency to act, representing the drive, the effective state, the wishes. The value represents the object or goal desired, and the situation represents the configuration of the factors conditioning the behavior reaction. It is also possible to work from the standpoint of adaptation—that is, how are attitudes and values modified according to the demands of given situations.

Any one of these standpoints will involve all the others, since they together constitute a process. . . .⁶

⁶ W. I. Thomas, "The Behavior Pattern and the Situation," *Proceedings of the American Sociological Society*, 22 (1928), p. 1.

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By emphasizing the situational approach to the problem of the way of living of the people, one hopes to discover the social forces which make the transition in the standard of living from one stage to another in an orderly fashion. Any change in the way of living results in the modification in the standards of living in the minds of the people. This is because an alteration in the material things of culture seldom proceeds far without some degree of changes in the mores of the people.

The unifying element in every cultural complex is . . . "a core of idea and beliefs, actuating a people and in large measure controlling their career." The core of idea and beliefs and the material objects in which these ideas and beliefs are embodied mutually interact upon one another to produce a harmonious whole. We are constantly remaking the world in accordance with our desires, but that world, once created, inevitably reacts back upon our desires to reshape them and define them in conformity with itself.⁷

Changes in the planes and the standards of living that take place as a consequence of general changes in the social order are gradual, not rapid, like the changes brought about by the contacts of sharply contrasting types of culture within an inclusive area like Hawaii. Here the process of cultural conflict, accommodation, and assimilation is clearly observable, and the subjective components of this general change comes to be reflected in the minds of the immigrants and their children. An immigrant in the process

of migration and reestablishment in the new cultural situation not only loses most of his former status, but also his old mode of living. The general outlook of the immigrants is favorable toward changes in their mode of living.

A study of the *way* of living of man emphasizes two aspects, namely, the biological and the social. On the whole there is very little difference in the planes of living among the individuals of the same social stratum. This is not strange since the biological needs of the individuals are everywhere about the same and behavior is affected by the social custom within a homogeneous community in a fairly uniform way. But there is a wide range of difference in the attitudes toward diets, clothing, housing, household furniture, education, marriage and what not. This is to say that there is a social as well as a biological problem involved in the mode of living.

In the study of the living condition of the people a sociological approach focuses its attention on the study of social situations and the behavior patterns of the individuals in the community. Its primary interest is in the understanding of human behavior as revealed in the choices an individual makes, and as implied in his aspiration for a higher status in the community. The strength of the sociological point of view lies in the fact that it involves no moral judgments on the mode of living of the people studied, and thus it frees the investigator from the necessity of setting up a normative standard.

⁷ R. E. Park, "Culture and Cultural Trends," *Proceedings of the American Sociological Society*, 19 (1924), pp. 31-32.

RACE, CULTURAL GROUPS, SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

THE NEWSPAPER AND RACE RELATIONS*

WILLIAM SHANDS MEACHAM

Richmond, Virginia

THERE is no sovereign approach to the economic and political problems of racial relations in the South, and I shall try to avoid creating the impression that I think there is any royal road that the newspaper can follow to achieve results with characteristic speed. The major contribution of the Southern press will be made when it is editorially recognized that racial relations constitute a common sociological problem; when the white press frankly faces the facts and is ready to point out that the costs of the slums in which Negroes live in the cities are paid by white citizens and not by Negroes; that the public pays the cost of ignorance and disease wherever it is found; that municipal governments are under a compelling social, as well as moral, obligation to make a fairer distribution of public improvements.

I have found that a newspaper's ability to contribute something helpful is greatly enhanced by a persevering effort to become acquainted with the outlines of specific problems and specific grievances. A sympathetic attitude towards the racial perplexity is not enough. There must be a

sympathetic understanding of specific things that oppress the Negro community—remediable things. To the end of gaining that understanding, Southern newspapers should keep their editorial doors wide open to all respectable Negro individuals or deputations who have a grievance to voice, welcoming them and making them feel that what troubles them is the business of editors concerned with the public interest. From the publishing viewpoint, I think Southern newspapers over-exploit Negro crime and under-notice Negro achievement. I should like to see the emphasis reversed.

Here is a brief quotation from a front page story that was carried recently by the Associated Press:

Arthur James, State Commissioner of Public Welfare, announced today that Governor George C. Peery had appointed Miss Virginia Randolph, of Richmond, well-known Negro educator, to membership on the board of directors of the State's industrial schools for Negro children.

Putting such a story on the front page was a very simple matter. By every criterion of news it was worth the prominence that front page space gave it. But how are we to get more such stories? This is a problem that concerns the background of the news, and that must be referred to those who determine the editorial policy of the newspapers. The

* At the time this paper was read at a meeting of the Virginia and North Carolina Commissions on Interracial Cooperation at Reidsville, N. C., Nov. 16, 1934, the author was editor of *The Danville Register*.
—Editors.

greatest single contribution that Southern newspapers could make to more constructive race relations would be their editorial advocacy of the doctrine of transferring a share of the social responsibility of Negro problems to Negro leaders. In appointing Miss Randolph to the board of directors of the State's industrial schools for Negro children, Governor Peery has recognized that doctrine. It is one that the newspaper can help along to recognition in the local community. It is one to which my paper has been glad to give its coöperation in its own community. Only a beginning has been made, but it has been so helpful that we feel that with due credit to its achievement, it will move along under its own power in the future. That the Negro leaders of Danville were able to make an outstanding contribution to the solution of relief problems among their own people was due to the work of the Danville Interracial Commission. Negroes chosen to do work of social case investigation were college graduates and exceptionally well equipped for the work for which they volunteered. There were Negro ministers, a physician, and the principal of a Negro high school. All had an intimate knowledge of the type of problems to be solved among their people and where they were to be found. Later some of the members of this volunteer group served as members of a garden relief committee that supervised the distribution of seed and the planting of some 400 community gardens. Their active and eager interest in the work has continued.

What is to be gained by the enlistment of educated Negroes for service on the boards of social agencies that are dealing with problems in which the welfare of the Negro is so importantly related to the public welfare? The answer, I believe, is an understanding of the Negro and his problem that the most exceptionally gifted

of these agencies do not now possess. Governor Peery has taken the lead in the recognition of Negro leadership for a specific Negro problem, and I would extend this recognition to fields in which coöperation among the leaders of both races is needed—to the fields of public education and public health, to the commissions that deal with crime and its prevention. I believe that we shall most surely and safely learn the secret of a happy adjustment by making haste slowly, by proceeding from precept to precept, and I do not think that anything is to be gained by broad generalization and by ex cathedra pronouncement by newspapers.

Some of the problems and the injustices that trouble us are perhaps not to be solved in our generation, but I propose that we avail ourselves of the social understanding of the cultured Negro in working on specific social problems, that we bridge the intellectual gap that keeps us from a closer appraisal of the joint social program, and from a force that can do practical work in carrying it on. At Danville we have asked leaders to help us get to the aid of the distressed Negroes of the community. In many cities, I fear, the necessities of the situation remained only partly explored because the exclusively white directors of relief work came almost exclusively in contact with members of the Negro race least able to offer anything helpful in the way of diagnosis. As we take up specific problems of maladjustment in the white population, our social workers are able to understand not only the single case, but much about the general background. As a newspaper man I propose that we follow Governor Peery's lead and more generally summon to our aid in the field of governmental sociology—if I may use that expression—gifted Negroes who can aid us to see more

clearly and practically the social problems of their race.

And may I add here that no race can be laid under the charge of inherent or irremedial intellectual inferiority, and no race need despair of its power of cultural growth that can produce—taking only a few of the moderns—such exemplars as Stanley Braithwaite in poetry criticism, Dr. Du Bois, Alain Locke, and Kelly Miller in the art of the critical essay, James Weldon Johnson, Langston Hughes, Countee Cullen, and Claude McKay in poetry, Walter White and Jean Toomer in fiction, and Henry Tanner in painting, and which is represented in music by such men as Roland Hayes and Nathaniel Dett.

What the white press of the South can do to promote more constructive race relations has been, I am glad to say, brilliantly illustrated. Years before there was any talk of minimum wage provisions, Dr. Douglas Southall Freeman, editor of the *Richmond News-Leader* was calling public attention to the plight of domestics in Richmond and asking whether it was good morals and whether it was fair business to pay servants wages as low as \$4.00 for a long week of labor. The picture of slums in which Negro citizens of Richmond lived was not a pleasant one to introduce into the editorial columns, but with patient and telling strokes Dr. Freeman painted it, and these areas have begun to recede. Louis I. Jaffe, editor of the *Norfolk-Virginian-Pilot*, and Virginius Dabney, chief editorial writer of the *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, are two other Virginia editors whose interest in social forces is giving Virginia journalism a constantly more constructive direction. Jaffe's career at Norfolk also illustrates the ability to discern rightable wrongs, conduct a sound survey to determine whether they can be righted without a fight so bitter that it will leave the at-

mosphere more poisoned than ever, and then to strike and keep on striking until the resistance gives way. And then when that is done, to repeat the operation with another objective. Over and over again. Endlessly.

I wish to offer one concrete illustration of Jaffe's method. Although miles of sandy beach surround Virginia Beach, Ocean View, and Willoughby Spit, the idea that the Negroes who earn their bread in the Norfolk area by the sweat of their faces and live in sight of the sea should enjoy a beach of their own had never occurred to the City Council of Norfolk until it was proposed by Jaffe in the *Virginian-Pilot*. Jaffe's survey was accurate. The wrong was rightable. But it took several years of patient writing to reach the objective. There were all sorts of complications. The case got into the local courts and finally got into the State Supreme Court. Jaffe has now almost won his patient battle, and a constructive rôle in race relations has been played.

Despite the mechanical processes of modern journalism, the newspaper is today less mechanistic in its outlook than ever before and playing a more helpful rôle in the solution of social problems. The prodigious labor necessary to get out a newspaper before the arrival of the linotype machine and the automatic printer left the men in charge of editorial work little time for investigation, or any deep concern with causes that lie behind the street scene. The newspaper writer now has time to go farther afield looking for fresh material. He can look for the news behind the news and his natural talent for discovering the bases of dramatic conflict and his keen appreciation of relative social values, brings the force of public opinion to the aid of the sociologist. Now that the mechanical processes of

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journalism have been mastered, the emphasis in the directing editorial offices is being placed less on elementary skills that will enable the reporter to produce by the column and always be safely behind the deadline and more on the broadness of his social comprehension. The doctor of philosophy, worthy of the purple, may find work on the modern newspaper of vastly more consequence than the work he formerly did in academic cloisters.

There is much that Virginia newspapers are doing in helping the Negro get elementary fair play among the economic forces about him, but there is much yet to be done. Under the protection of the law, Negroes, and their poor white neighbors a little farther up the street also, are being systematically victimized by unscrupulous building and loan associations that charge them usurious rates of interest and enormous fees for "joining the Association." In this State Negroes are paying many thousands of dollars every year into the treasuries of industrial insurance companies for which they receive no protection whatever. Our insurance laws, like our Virginia banking laws, are very indulgent and permit the operators of such companies to collect premiums in arrears from industrial policyholders by giving a receipt which very clearly states that the insured is not protected until the premiums due are paid in full and a satisfactory physical examination is passed. Many Negro industrial policyholders carry their policies for months without protection and, discouraged, finally drop them. Later the agent writes a new policy. This is profitable business for the companies and their agents.

The Southern press can best serve the Negro and the under-privileged of society by becoming increasingly intolerant of the tolerance of State administrations towards

ineffective legislation, governing banking and insurance, and other business peculiarly affected with a public interest. It was recently discovered, for example, that some of the most important Virginia banking laws on the statute books actually had no more weight than unofficial regulations adopted by a bank for its own convenience, or published for its own convenience, since no penalties were provided for their violation. Such laws actually have the effect of providing a form of protection for those who wish to evade them by shady practices.

Needless to say, the man in society with the smallest number of friends at court is the special victim of business practices that are carried on through the loopholes of legislation. The new exploratory technique of journalism which is finding rich rewards in headlines by braving the dust of legislative files is responsible for movements for "legislative revision" which we see around us in the Southern states. This process of legislative reform is also one of social reform and is the best possible defense against the "wild men" of politics who find capital for impossible doctrines at the sources now being visited by reporters.

Do the white people of the South wish their newspapers to take up the cause of the dispossessed Negro, to help him find a place in which he can labor faithfully and well? I believe that they do. At least I can say that the Southern newspapers that are working with vision and courage for justice for the Negro are the ones received with most honor and are the most successful by the journalistic business standard. This is the happy augury for the future. For it shows the widening spread and deepening hold of a more socially scientific habit of mind.

THE NEGRO AND INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

ROBERT C. FRANCIS

Southern University

THE American Negro is watching with vital interest the long awaited shake-up that is now taking place within the American Federation of Labor. Negroes have a right to show more than a passing interest in this upheaval because the organization which has been the mouthpiece for the working class within this country since the 1880's, but which actually represents only a minority of the gainfully employed, has never done anything to aid directly the black workman. Many authorities thought the American Federation of Labor was about to pass out of the picture in the period immediately prior to the World War. President Wilson put it on its feet by recognizing it as a representative of the working class during the war. The organization was on its last legs when the NRA gave it a blood transfusion and revived the old shell. Now Afro-Americans are watching closely John L. Lewis, for years a "Stormy Petrel" in the organization, with the hope that his action may mean the revamping of the American Federation of Labor.

This new development in the labor movement is of particular interest to the Negro because the split was ostensibly occasioned by Lewis's espousal of industrial unionism. Of course, John L. Lewis has been accused of being ambitious and a few other less complimentary things, but the type of unionism that he champions is the kind that appeals to the Negro. The fact that the American Federation of Labor has discriminated against the colored worker is known and accepted and needs no explanation here. Those persons interested only casually in labor problems are well aware of the color bar

that has long existed within the organization. Since its inception, the A. F. of L. has given little attention to the betterment of standards for unskilled workers, and, as the majority of gainfully employed Negroes do the more menial tasks, they have had little or no assistance. Moreover, most of the old line unions have been decidedly unfriendly toward colored craftsmen. For this reason Negro leaders have tended to advise undercutting of wages and breaking of strikes as means to be used for entrance into industry. Only within recent years has there developed a movement on the part of Negro leaders to interest the black workingman in the advantages of unionism and the part that he should play therein.

Negro labor leaders are now pointing to the fact that Lewis and the other members of the Committee for Industrial Organization are the best friends that the black worker has had in the American Federation. These leaders feel certain that, should the move for industrial unionism be a success, it will mean the abolition of "Jim Crowism" within the Federation. To substantiate this point it is worthy of note that those A. F. of L. unions in which Negroes have played an important part are industrial in form, and include three of the outstanding organizations in the Federation; namely, the International Longshoremen's Association, the United Mine Workers, and the International Ladies' Garment Workers. The last is from all angles one of the most progressive in the country and its action toward the Negroes within its ranks is ideal. The colored workers share equally with white workers in all affairs pertain-

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ing to the Union. Many Negroes in the I.L.G.W.U. hold positions of responsibility.

When the movement for industrial unionism began to attract nationwide interest, there appeared a small group of more conservative leaders within the darker race, who want to persevere in the attempt to influence the intricate thinking process of President William Green of the A. F. of L. and his cohorts, in the hope that the necessity for coöperation of the black and white worker for the salvation of the working class of this country might sink into their minds. By and large, however, the majority feels that the babbitry of the present coterie of old-line leaders is beyond redemption; that their philosophy belongs to a past century; that this is no flurry and if the Negro is to become an integral part of the organized labor movement, now is the time to act. These persons, who constitute this "majority," likewise feel that it is better for the Negro to align himself with the group that is attempting to develop something that will fit his needs and thereby gain some of the credit for bringing about a new era, than to attempt to force a begrudged recognition from a debilitated aristocracy of labor. Negroes know that the American Federation is possessed of the ideology of a former period; they realize that it has not attempted to keep pace with our rapidly changing industrial technique, but has continued to drive its old jaded team of craft unionism.

Since the realization has grown upon those more skeptical persons that Lewis has the temerity to carry his plan through to its ultimate developments, many of them have begun to place hope in a new unionism, one that will recognize neither race, color, nor creed; one that has for its

motto the advancement of the entire working class.

In addition interest has been intensified by the suspension from the A. F. of L. of the ten unions represented in the Committee for Industrial Organization. Since its organization in 1886 this is the first distinct cleavage that occurred in the American Federation of Labor. If Negro labor leaders accurately read the shadow that has been cast, this dual movement means the end of the A. F. of L.

On the one hand we have unions composed of all workers in an industry regardless of skill or occupations; on the other, those based on distinct craft lines. Now that the split has become definite, Negro leaders point to the fact that with increased mechanization and improved technique, all workers are being pushed down to the level of the Negro; therefore, the industrial union is the only type that will fit into our future scheme of things.

Although it is true that active, though veiled, discrimination on the part of the Federation, even its very composition, i.e., autonomous unions of trades, automatically barred the black man because, as stated, the overwhelming proportion of Negroes is in the less skilled occupations and because local unions have vigorously fought the admission of black craftsmen into their ranks, there may be some instances where an industrial organization might not work to their absolute advantage as in the case of the Pullman Porters. (Last year, the Brotherhood of Railway Conductors expressed a desire to take the Porters' Union under its protective wing, indicating at the time that the latter union really should be an auxiliary of the Brotherhood. It was perfectly evident that the conductors were not motivated by a fine, altruistic spirit, for the Pullman Company had discharged

a number of conductors and simultaneously given their duties over to the porter in charge and it was this action which prompted the union to make such an offer to the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Needless to say, the latter organization did not fall for the ruse.) All of which indicates that there is no such thing as a panacea. Colored labor leaders are willing to take some risks with the possibility of the infinitely greater gain of being admitted to the labor movement.

The big question under industrial unionism is, will the Negro fit into the scheme of things? The answer is rather simple, for the greater percentage of black men, in all industries, do the most menial tasks. In an organization devoid of that aristocratic differentiation along craft lines, the problems of all the workers are considered. Here the Negro members of the personnel of an industry would have more opportunity to express themselves and to educate the white workers as to the nature of and necessity for cooperation. In some sections of the country this would work out; in others, we would still have intense race problems, but a great gain for the Negro would result where the industrial unions would reach down and take in laborers doing the rough type of work. In localities where black people are not permitted to mingle with white, the former must get jobs in any way possible and that is generally by breaking strikes. In other words, there is no formula by which the Negro can get a square deal in industry. An important factor is the time-place element. Circumstances have forced the Negro to suit his actions to the exigencies of the particular situation. What will work to his advantage in Baltimore or New Orleans will not help in the least in a strong union town such as San Francisco.

Negro leaders see that a new move

toward industrial unionism is starting from above and the men behind the movement have the strength and backing to make it felt throughout the country. They think that these men will give the black laborer an opportunity to become a union man. Thus thousands of Negro workers will obtain economic emancipation. Superimposed upon the above-mentioned reasons for the Negroes' turn to the banner of industrial unionism is the fact that the masses have not obtained anything like adequate aid under the recovery program. Statistics show that the Negro is dependent on public relief to a greater degree than any other of the many racial groups known as the people of the United States. The effects of the recovery program are beyond the scope of this paper; however, it may be said that the two groups hit hardest by the depression, i.e., agricultural and domestic workers, are those in which the greatest number of gainfully employed Negroes are to be found.

At the time of its institution, the NRA was hailed as the step that would mean a "New Deal" for the Negro. After a few months, during which the industrial plight became intensified, the idea was implanted in the minds of thousands of Afro-Americans that the NRA was the direct cause of their distress. For this reason, the National Recovery Act obtained the nickname of "Negro Removal Act."

In the last four or five years, there has been a decided change in the outlook of American Negroes. They have lost their frontier psychology. The idea of rugged individualism is giving way to a class consciousness. Negroes now realize that there is little opportunity to become wealthy some day. They now feel, and correctly, that they belong essentially to

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the laboring class and that their effort should be directed toward bettering their working lives and gaining therefrom a fuller enjoyment of their leisure hours. The hope that was placed in the NRA has been transferred with renewed vigor to John L. Lewis. According to the Negro National Bar Association, "the present national effort of the Committee on Industrial Organization toward organization of American workers into industrial unions represents a not to be neglected opportunity for Negro workers to become an integral part of the great body of organized labor in the United States and thus to advance the status of Negro work-

ers as has never been possible heretofore." The above quotation is replete with implications of an awakening to reality on the part of one of the best educated groups of American Negroes. This is an excellent indication of the realization on the part of the advanced groups that the backbone of the black population is the menial class. No group is any more advanced than its slowest member. The Negro is now looking toward industrial unionism for his salvation. The movement led by Lewis is progressive. The Negro has progressed in seeing that he must organize. Let us hope that we are on the brink of a new day.

THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION

During 1935, the Rockefeller Foundation expended \$12,725,439 in the fields of public health, medical sciences, natural sciences, social sciences, humanities, and the China program. Of this amount, appropriations made in the social sciences totaled \$3,807,500.

According to its Information Service, the Foundation has at the present time three programs of specific interest in the general field of the social sciences: social security, international relations, and public administration.

Aid to the study of social security in 1935 included grants as follows: Governor's Commission on Unemployment Relief, New York, study of the relief situation in New York State; Harvard University, research on problems of the business cycle; Industrial Relations Counselors, New York City, services to governmental agencies; Social Science Research Council, New York City, work in the field of social security. Funds were given to promote the research program of the Austrian Institute for Trade Cycle Research, and to the budget of the Statistical Institute of Economic Research of the University of Sofia, Bulgaria.

Grants in the field of international relations were made to the American Geographical Society, for the preparation and publication of the Millionth Map of Hispanic America; to the research program of the Council on Foreign Relations, New York City; to the Foreign Policy Association, New York City, to support its experimental educational program and its Research Department; toward the general expenses of the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations; and to Yale University, for research in international relations; the Center for the Study of Foreign Relations, Paris, research in international relations; the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation, Paris, maintenance and conferences; John Casimir University, Lwow, Poland, research on problems of international relations; the Institute of Pacific Relations, Pacific Council, Honolulu, general expenses and research program; and for a world-wide study of agricultural economics.

For training projects in public administration grants were made to the American University, Washington, D. C.; Harvard University; the National Institute of Public Affairs, Washington, D. C.; and to the School of Citizenship and Public Affairs of Syracuse University. The Public Administration Committee of the Social Science Research Council received Foundation support, as did the Spelman Fund of New York.

In a program of support to fellowships in the social sciences, thirty-five new appointments were made in 1935.

GOVERNMENT, POLITICS, CITIZENSHIP

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspects of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

THE COURTS AS SOCIOLOGISTS

EDWARD T. HARTMAN

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IN PIONEERING towards the advancement of our frontiers, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, we were efficient and rapid, possibly too rapid. In technological pioneering we have been efficient and rapid. Some people think that as to the automobile and elsewhere we have been too rapid, because of the resultant unsolved problems. In sociological fields we have been inefficient and decidedly not rapid.

When we look for a sector in the field of sociology where we have made noticeable progress, it is demonstrable that our work in, and court decisions on, zoning are prominent. The work of the courts has been more consistent and constructive than that of local authorities in drafting and administering zoning laws. In this branch of police power regulation our courts have permitted more progress in twelve years than in seventy-five years of effort at regulating the conditions and hours of labor of women and children in industry.

The police power is the power of the people to regulate their affairs in the interests of health, safety, and all phases of public welfare. Such regulation comes perhaps more nearly into the field of sociology than other branches of law. Health regulations, pure food and drug

laws, labor laws, zoning and building laws, are examples. In each of these we see the gradual emergence of a social purpose, tending in some ways towards better living conditions for the people.

Zoning laws are a new frontier in police power regulation. There are two chief features of zoning laws. Bulk zoning limits the height of buildings and the coverage of lots. This is to make it possible for all that is laid out on the land, streets, water and sewer systems, parks and playgrounds, and all the private utilities, to service what is built upon the land, chiefly buildings of all kinds. Use zoning lays down areas in each of which is permitted only those uses which are most nearly compatible. Primarily such areas are residential, business and industrial.

In bulk zoning we have been, in our large cities, no more efficient than in labor and other regulatory laws. That is why we have congestion, undue traffic hazards, a whole chain of evils which are causing all large cities rapidly to "die of greatness." Delay of traffic is costing greater New York \$1,000,000 a day, Chicago \$600,000 a day, Boston \$100,000 a day. The average speed on Manhattan is nine miles per hour during the business day, in spite of the fact that the automobile was developed to increase speed. To these

costs we must add the expense of traffic regulation and of traffic accidents. The National Safety Council estimates the national costs of accidents at \$1,500,000,000 for 1934. Other estimates put it at two and one-half billions. There are heavy losses in property values. These losses are somewhat fictitious, because the values are fictitious. When you buy land at \$500 per square foot you have to erect a building that will justify the overhead. But there is no city pattern that will make this possible. All our streets were laid down in the horse and buggy days, before skyscrapers and automobiles. The streets cannot serve the buildings and the automobiles. There will be great loss. Bulk regulation that will produce a functioning city has been opposed by powerful economic interests. There are signs of a break.

Use zoning, dating, in its present phase, from 1916, is supported by every major interest. It is in this field that the courts have turned sociologists. Perhaps it is true that the major interests too much influence the courts. But where such a result works for the common good, let's recognize it for what it is worth. It happens that in use zoning economic, social, health, all good interests, coincide.

In theory, as enunciated by the courts, the police power is broad. It is constantly expanding to meet the needs and conditions of a progressing civilization. No fault may be found with the theory. Its uneven application may be criticized. In theory, at least, it is held that the people may regulate their affairs in all ways that are, in the words of Mr. Justice Holmes, *Noble State Bank v. Haskell*, 219 U. S. 104, "in aid of what is sanctioned by usage or held by the preponderant morality or strong and preponderant opinion to be greatly and immediately necessary to the public welfare." Doubtless the best ex-

amples of the application of this power are to be found in use zoning, designed to prevent the intrusion of injurious uses into areas developed or designed for uses which need protection for the common good.

The most far-reaching decision on zoning is *Hadacheck v. Sebastian*, 239 U. S. 394. Los Angeles, in her early efforts at zoning, enacted a retroactive law. The case arose when the authorities ordered a brick factory to be removed from an area where it had long operated, but which was rapidly developing for residence uses. The property was rated at a value of \$800,000 for brick-making purposes, \$60,000 for residence purposes. Of course these estimates did not cover the depreciation of a very large surrounding area for dwellings. The assessable values for the city were doubtless as great or greater without the brick factory. The court said:

... the imperative necessity for its [the police power] existence precludes any limitation upon it when not arbitrarily exercised.

A vested interest cannot... be asserted against a proper exercise of the police power—to so hold would preclude development.

There must be progress, and in its march private interests must yield to the good of the community.

One result of this decision was the complete abandonment of retroactive zoning. With such a provision in them very few ordinances would have been enacted. As it is there are approximately fourteen hundred such laws, affecting nearly half of our total population.

When Euclid Village, a suburb of Cleveland, established a zoning system, the Ambler Realty Company, without filing an application for a permit which would have been refused, instituted a general assault upon the law. It went to the U. S. District Court, the one which sent Debs to Atlanta. The court found that all zoning laws were unconstitutional, and the appeal went up. Under the cir-

cumstances the assault was general, and the decision was broad. The court, in the words of Mr. Justice Sutherland, said:

... with the great increase and concentration of population, problems have developed, and constantly are developing, which require, and will continue to require, additional restrictions in respect of the use and occupation of private lands in urban communities.

The court asserted that the limits of the power to regulate were like the question as to whether a particular thing was a nuisance, not to be determined by abstract considerations, but in connection with the circumstances and the locality.

A nuisance may be merely a right thing in the wrong place,—like a pig in the parlor instead of the barnyard.

... the coming of one apartment house is followed by others, interfering by their height and bulk with the free circulation of air and monopolizing the rays of the sun which otherwise would fall upon the smaller homes, and bringing, as their necessary accompaniments, the disturbing noises incident to increased traffic and business, and the occupation, by means of moving and parked automobiles, of larger portions of the streets, thus detracting from their safety and depriving children of the privilege of quiet and open space for play, enjoyed by those in more favored localities—until, finally, the residential character of the neighborhood and its desirability as a place of detached residences are utterly destroyed.

Under the circumstances, apartment houses, which in a different environment would be not only entirely unobjectionable but highly desirable, come very near to being nuisances.

The court then found that it was precluded from declaring the ordinance as unconstitutional, and clearly arbitrary and unreasonable, because having no substantial relation to the public health, safety, morals, or general welfare.

In a Massachusetts decision, *Spector v. Milton*, 250 Mass. 63, the court held that the general nature of the town was a factor in supporting the exclusion of injurious intrusions.

... it is a very old town. ... There is little about the town that bears a commercial, industrial or

manufacturing aspect. ... The town is extraordinarily residential in character. ... There are many fine residences on unusually well kept estates. The shade trees on streets and private lands are numerous and beautiful. Further facts are: 'All the residences in the town are either one or two family houses. The streets and sidewalks of the town are large, wide and well built. Milton is the home of Milton Academy with its large spacious grounds and beautiful buildings devoted to the college preparatory education of young men. The town is exceptionally free from noise, smoke, dirt and dust. It presents generally the aspect of a town of extraordinary homes inhabited by people of culture and refinement.'

On the same day the court handed down a decision in the case of *Brett v. Brookline*, 250 Mass. 73, in which it advanced the same principles.

The report does not set out in detail the characteristics of the town of Brookline, as was rightly and fully done in *Spector v. Milton*, *ante*. ... So far as these characteristics may be thought to be connected with adaptability of the town of Brookline to residence uses, they may be assumed to exist.

This Brookline case was the first one bearing exclusively on the question of the legality of districts for one-family houses only. The town was in process of establishing such districts and permits were issued for some 50 two-family houses in these areas. The law became operative and the permits were withdrawn. The case resulted.

Restriction of the use of land to buildings each to be occupied as a residence for a single family may be viewed at least in two aspects. It may be regarded as preventive of fire. It seems to us manifest that, other circumstances being the same, there is less danger of a building becoming ignited if occupied by one family than if occupied by two or more families. ...

It may be a reasonable view that the health and general physical and mental welfare of society would be promoted by each family dwelling in a house by itself. Increase in fresh air, freedom for the play of children and of movement for adults, the opportunity to cultivate a bit of land, and the reduction in the spread of contagious diseases may be thought to be advanced by a general custom that each family live in a house standing by itself with its own curtilage.

The sociological values of one-family districts were somewhat more broadly, but very interestingly, argued in the California case of *Miller v. Board of Public Works*, 234 Pac. 381.

In addition to all that has been said in support of the constitutionality of residential zoning as part of a comprehensive plan, we think it may be safely and sensibly said that justification for residential zoning may, in the last analysis, be rested upon the protection of the civic and social values of the American home. The establishment of such districts is for the general welfare because it tends to promote and perpetuate the American home. . . . The home and its intrinsic influences are the very foundation of good citizenship, and any factor contributing to the establishment of homes and the fostering of home life doubtless tends to the enhancement not only of community life but of the life of the nation as a whole.

The establishment of single-family residence districts offers inducements not only to the wealthy but to those of moderate means to own their own homes. With ownership comes stability, the welding together of family ties, and better attention to the rearing of children. . . .

It is needless to further analyze and enumerate all of the factors which make a single-family home more desirable for the promotion and perpetuation of family life than an apartment, hotel, or flat. It will suffice to say that there is a sentiment, practically universal, that this is so.

The man who is seeking to establish a permanent home would not deliberately choose to build next to an apartment house, and it is common experience that the man who had already built is dissatisfied with his home location and desires a change. . . .

In short, the police power, as such, is not confined within the narrow circumscription of precedents, resting upon past conditions which do not cover and control present-day conditions obviously calling for revised regulations to promote the health, safety, morals, or general welfare of the public. . . .

A trail-breaking decision was *Carter v. Harper*, 196 N. W. 451, in which the Wisconsin Supreme Court dealt with an intrusion existing when the ordinance was adopted. There was a provision that such intrusions should not be enlarged. The court said:

If the appellant has acquired a vested right to enlarge his business, then every other person having an

embryo business in a residential section must be accorded the same privilege, and an infant industry may grow to mammoth proportions, thereby to a very large extent defeating the purpose of the regulation.

. . . The home seeker shuns a section of the city devoted to industrialism and seeks a home at some distance from the business center. A common and natural instinct directs him to a section far removed from the commerce, trade and industry of the community. He does this because the home instinct craves fresh air, sunshine and well-kept lawns—home association beyond the noise of commercial marts and the dirt and smoke of industrial plants. Fresh air and sunshine add to the happiness of the home and have a direct effect upon the wellbeing of the occupants. . . .

In the case of *Darien v. Webb*, 162 Atl. 690, a similar principle was involved.

The ultimate object of zoning ordinances is to confine certain classes of buildings and uses to designated localities or districts. The continued existence of non-conforming uses is inconsistent with that object and it is intended that conditions be reduced to conformity as speedily as possible. . . .

Interesting, if we are to adhere to the idea that the human mind is one thing in the male of the species, and another in the female, is the case of *Pritz v. Messer*, 149 N. E. 30. Justice Florence E. Allen, of the Ohio Supreme Court, wrote the decision. The attack on the law was on constitutional grounds, and as an improper use of the police power.

. . . the question is not whether the slum will certainly be eliminated by such zoning, but whether said zoning reasonably tends towards the elimination of the slums; not whether congestion of traffic and enhanced public health and improved public morals will certainly result from the enactment of such measures, but whether there is a reasonable connection between such measures and the public health, morals, and safety.

. . . we cannot say that the council did not look forward to a time when by the natural functioning of the law of supply and demand the tide of population would turn in the direction where light, air space, and health can be secured as normal living conditions, and where by these restrictions and by public demand the builders would be compelled to build homes which

would make for the maintenance rather than for the deterioration of the American family.

Among the more common forms of breaking down a local zoning law, one is for an applicant to persuade a board of appeals to exceed its power and, under the guise of a variance to meet peculiar conditions, permit an intrusion. Such an applicant will go again and again, hoping to wear away the opposition, and finally persuade the board of appeals. Courts now hold that, having made a finding, the board, being of a semi-judicial nature, may not reopen a case except where new facts are discovered or a new set of conditions exists. In *Stevens v. Clarke*, 215 N. Y. Supp. 190, the facts were that a building inspector refused and a board of appeals permitted a 92-family apartment and 37.9 per cent coverage where the zoning law permitted 53 families and 35 per cent coverage. The applicant said he expected to collect \$40 per month per room, and with more rooms could get more money.

But it seems to me to be a startling proposition to say that the common council of White Plains having enacted these zoning laws, and the petitioners and their neighbors having purchased their property and erected their homes in reliance upon these laws, the Wakauf Corporation may, upon the most general and to me unconvincing statements concerning its past history and benevolent intentions, do away with the White Plains regulation, solely upon the ground that a building erected according to law would not bring in as much money as a building erected contrary to law. That is all there is to it.

There is often as much humor as social soundness in court decisions. In a New York case an applicant was refused a permit for a miniature golf course in a residence district. The applicant sought to mandamus the issuance of the permit, on the ground that golf courses were permitted in such districts.

It requires no argument to determine that the use which the petitioner proposes to make of its premises

will not constitute a golf course, and that the game played thereon is not golf.

... the extent of the grounds necessary for a [golf] course, ... and the fact that golf can be played only during daylight hours, as well as of the nature of the game itself, insure comparative quiet in the playing of the game, the absence of any considerable crowd and complete disuse of the grounds during sleeping hours.

... the use which the petitioner proposes to make of its property will not constitute a golf course within the meaning of the zoning ordinance.

Pewee golf died young, but people constantly are finding new pests arising to despoil their homes and render their lives miserable.

A bit of sound civic advice comes occasionally from the courts. The following advice was given in cases where people sought to break down apparently good laws through court action. The same principle applies when a city government passes a bad law, at least as far as it implies that such a government should be retired. In *Civello v. New Orleans*, 97 So. 440, the Supreme Court of Louisiana said:

We have nothing to do with the wisdom or good policy of municipal ordinances. If they are not satisfying to a majority of the citizens, their recourse is to the ballot—not the courts.

In the case of *Kaufman v. Akron* the Court of Common Pleas of Summit County, Ohio, said:

Courts have nothing to do with the question of the wisdom or good policy of legislative enactments. It is not the province of the Court to take issue with the City Council on that subject, nor to undertake to substitute its judgment for that of the legislative body. The remedy, if one is desired, is political, and not judicial. Resort must be had to the ballot, and not to the courts.

The chief trouble of resort to the ballot is that it requires thinking on the part of the voters. To this they strenuously object. They would rather risk their safety than, by taking thought, to guaran-

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tee safety through the character and ability of officials.

It is not going too far to hold that the theological and sociological schools will have to look to their laurels. The sociological principles advanced by the courts, as herein brought out, are of an advanced

and practical nature, more far-reaching and constructive than much of that to which the schools confine themselves. The whole, and there is much more, of infinite variety, in similar directions, presents a significant frontier of pioneer thinking.

CONSISTENCY IN PARTY VOTING FROM 1896-1932

RALPH AND MILDRED FLETCHER

Federation of Social Agencies of Pittsburgh and Allegheny County

THE domination of certain political parties over sections of the American electorate is no novel fact to the student of our political history. In the South the primary is the important event and not the election which chooses between Democratic candidates and other party leaders. In New England Republican victories are expected. However the degree to which this domination is exercised and the extent of variation in party allegiance from election to election and from state to state seems well worth study. It seems especially worth while in those areas that do make choices between the Democratic and Republican party or turn readily to third party movements. The publication of *The Presidential Vote, 1896-1932* by E. E. Robinson¹ furnishes the data for some simple measurements of the degree of party alignment and a means of evaluating more definitely what has been more or less assumed. These measurements provide a basis for comparing the consistency of voting in the South to that in New England or the inconsistency of voting habits in the Middle and Far West.

In attempting this study we have confined our attention to a single measure of

change, the relation of the party control of a geographic unit² in a given presidential election to the party control of that unit in the presidential election immediately following. Since the parties are classified by Robinson as Democratic, Republican, and "other party," a geographic unit having expressed its political faith in a given election may retain that faith in the next election or enter the ranks of the two remaining classifications. For purposes of this study "other party" is referred to as "third parties." If we eliminate all tied elections, the tables on pages 69-127 of Robinson provide 26,151 opportunities to tabulate expression of change on the part of counties from 1896-1932. The results of the study appear in full in Tables I and III and each reader will advance interpretations and speculations about the results as he recalls one election after another and as he knows best certain states or sections of the country. We propose to discuss the results rather briefly and note certain observations that occurred to us as we worked over the material.

Of the 26,151 cases available for tabulation, 29.2 per cent show changes in

² These units are in most cases counties but Virginia cities, Baltimore, Md., and St. Louis, Mo., are counted as counties.

¹ Stanford University Press, 1934. 403 pp.

political faith whereas 70.8 per cent show retention of faith in the vote of four years previous. An analysis of the degree of consistency by paired elections shows a wide variation and demonstrates that a large part of the 29.2 per cent change can be attributed to two elections. In the

more than 83 per cent of the counties voted as they had in the previous election. Table I shows not only the degree of consistency by elections but also the extent and direction of change. The losses and gains are given by elections for each party in actual numbers and percentages. In

TABLE I
CONSISTENCY OF VOTING BY ELECTIONS

YEAR		TOTAL	CONSISTENT VOTING				LOSSES BY PARTY				GAINS BY PARTY			
			*DD	RR	XX	Total	D	R	X	Total	D	R	X	Total
1896-1900	N	2,701	1,206	1,050		2,256	327	111	7	445	115	328	2	445
	%	100.0	44.6	38.9		83.5	12.1	4.1	0.3	16.5	4.3	12.1	0.1	16.5
1900-1904	N	2,693	997	1,292		2,289	312	90	2	404	89	307	8	404
	%	100.0	37.0	48.0		85.0	11.6	3.3	0.1	15.0	3.3	11.4	0.3	15.0
1904-1908	N	2,705	1,026	1,396	6	2,418	65	219	3	287	219	64	4	287
	%	100.0	37.9	51.3	0.2	89.4	2.4	8.1	0.1	10.6	8.1	2.4	0.1	10.6
1908-1912	N	2,852	1,324	212	1	1,537	29	1,280	6	1,315	574	6	735	1,315
	%	100.0	46.4	7.5		53.9	1.0	44.9	0.2	46.1	20.1	0.2	25.8	46.1
1912-1916	N	2,967	1,626	170	1	1,797	344	61	765	1,170	364	802	4	1,170
	%	100.0	54.8	5.7		60.6	11.6	2.0	25.8	39.4	12.3	27.0	0.1	39.4
1916-1920	N	3,017	1,082	978		2,060	946	6	5	957	4	939	14	957
	%	100.0	35.9	32.4		68.3	31.3	0.2	0.2	31.7	0.1	31.1	0.5	31.7
1920-1924	N	3,058	1,068	1,530	1	2,599	33	416	10	459	196	30	233	459
	%	100.0	34.9	50.0		85.0	1.1	13.6	0.3	15.0	6.4	1.0	7.6	15.0
1924-1928	N	3,069	780	1,496		2,276	495	63	235	793	113	680		793
	%	100.0	25.4	48.8		74.2	16.1	2.1	7.6	25.8	3.7	22.1		25.8
1928-1932	N	3,089	911	372		1,283		1,797	9	1,806	1,806			1,806
	%	100.0	29.5	12.0		41.5		58.2	0.3	58.5	58.5			58.5
Total.....	N	26,151	10,020	8,486	9	18,515	2,551	4,043	1,042	7,636	3,480	3,156	1,000	7,636
	%	100.0	38.3	32.5		70.8	9.8	15.4	4.0	29.2	13.3	12.1	3.8	29.2

* D—Democratic party; R—Republican; X—Third parties. DD—Democratic majority in two consecutive elections and the same for RR and XX.

1912 election 46.1 per cent of the geographic units refused to be governed by how they had voted in 1908 and 58.5 per cent changed their voting habits in 1932. These elections represent crucial points in our political history. Of the nine paired elections there are four where

the ten elections there were three major party desertions, in 1912 when 1280 Republican counties changed allegiance, in 1920 when 946 Democratic counties went Republican, and in 1932 the greatest change of all when 1797 counties that voted Republican in 1928 went Democratic.

Table II compares the ability of the three parties to maintain the allegiance of counties from one election to another and it is interesting to note that of these 26,151 cases mentioned above, the Democrats retained control in 10,020 cases as compared to 8,486 that were loyal to Republican leadership. Third parties have controlled 1051 counties during the ten elections but have retained control from one election to another in only nine cases. Fifty-one of the counties that were controlled by third parties came from the Democratic ranks and 949 from the Republican. In succeeding elections 386 of these same counties went Democratic and 656 went Republican. Obviously this method can give only an imperfect picture of the distribution and change in third party voting. Even in 1912 the significance of the third party strength was not so much that it controlled 735 counties but that the Democrats gained 574 Republican counties and the election.

In order to measure further the degree of party allegiance by counties, the counties that participated in every election since 1896 and which were carried decisively by some party were tabulated according to the number of times they changed allegiance. During this period, 591 counties voted consistently for one party, 104 changed once, 567 twice, 501 three times, 478 four times, 250 five times, 89 six times, 35 seven times, and 5 eight times. According to Robinson's count there were 619 counties which have always retained a Democratic lead and 83 such Republican counties.³ Our count is somewhat smaller since we included only those counties that participated in every election since 1896 and in which there were no tied contests. More than half the 18,515 cases where a county was carried by the same party in two consecutive elections can be

accounted for by these counties that voted straight Democratic and Republican throughout the ten elections. The counties that changed their allegiance twice are in the main Republican counties that deserted the party in 1912 and returned in 1916 or 1920. Forty eight per cent of the counties changed less than three times. The five counties that changed eight times have changed their party allegiance with every election but one.

It is possible to consider each state separately and gauge somewhat the degree of consistency in county voting by states over the same period. We have computed a percentage of consistency for each of the 48 states by dividing the number of oppor-

TABLE II
CONTROL OF COUNTIES BY PARTIES

PARTY CONTROL IN A GIVEN ELECTION	PARTY CONTROL IN SUCCEEDING ELECTION			
	Democrat	Republican	Third parties	Total
Democratic.....	10,020	2,500	51	12,571
Republican.....	3,094	8,486	949	12,529
Third parties.....	386	656	9	1,051
Total.....	13,500	11,642	1,009	26,151

tunities for change in party alignment into the number of cases where there were no changes. The variation among the states is very great ranging from 99.5 consistency in South Carolina to 36.0 consistency in Nevada. Table III shows five states with a percentage of consistency above 90, the three highest being in the South, the fourth being West Virginia, and the fifth, Rhode Island. Besides Nevada the states of Montana, Idaho, North Dakota, and Washington show less than 50 per cent consistency. With the exception of Wisconsin all of the 24 states that have less than 60 per cent consistency are west of the Mississippi River.

In this study certain elections have been pointed out as periods of great change in

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 33.

TABLE III
CONSISTENCY OF VOTING BY STATES

	CONSISTENT VOTING				LOSSES BY PARTY				GAINS BY PARTY				PER CENT CHANGE
	DD*	RR	XX	Total	D	R	X	Total	D	R	X	Total	
Alabama.....	423	13		436	50	52	5	107	50	52	5	107	80.3
Arizona.....	23	22		45	13	13		26	13	13		26	63.4
Arkansas.....	578	13		591	37	39	1	77	39	37	1	77	86.8
California.....	41	224		265	64	124	66	254	102	93	59	254	51.1
Colorado.....	133	166		299	114	114	18	246	115	113	18	246	54.9
Connecticut.....	3	57		60	5	7		12	7	5		12	83.3
Delaware.....	3	15		18	3	5		8	5	3		8	69.2
Florida.....	373	3		376	43	43	2	88	44	42	2	88	81.0
Georgia.....	1,089	36	8	1,133	75	88	24	187	102	62	23	187	85.8
Idaho.....	23	107		130	53	77	22	152	65	66	21	152	46.1
Illinois.....	158	458		616	94	170	34	298	139	126	33	298	67.4
Indiana.....	191	345		536	114	163	15	292	153	124	15	292	64.7
Iowa.....	39	545		584	61	188	56	305	138	111	56	305	65.7
Kansas.....	69	467		536	162	196	51	409	187	171	51	409	56.7
Kentucky.....	512	351		863	76	121	15	212	120	77	15	212	80.3
Louisiana.....	511	3		514	14	19	2	35	19	14	2	35	93.6
Maine.....	4	104		108	10	18	8	36	11	17	8	36	75.0
Maryland.....	75	70		145	25	44	2	71	42	27	2	71	67.1
Massachusetts.....	11	93		104	6	15	5	26	10	11	5	26	79.2
Michigan.....	3	511		514	33	131	68	232	70	94	68	232	68.9
Minnesota.....	23	363		386	58	203	116	377	127	135	115	377	50.6
Mississippi.....	702	3		702	3	3		6	3	3		6	99.2
Missouri.....	403	338		741	133	157	4	294	153	137	4	294	71.7
Montana.....	31	100		131	63	98	44	205	86	80	39	205	39.0
Nebraska.....	140	286		426	166	189	32	387	180	168	39	387	52.4
Nevada.....	27	23		50	34	36	19	89	37	35	17	89	36.0
New Hampshire.....	4	65		69	9	12		21	12	9		21	76.7
New Jersey.....	18	125		143	16	24	6	46	18	22	6	46	78.1
New Mexico.....	29	61		90	21	30	2	53	31	22		53	62.9
New York.....	30	460		490	28	30	3	61	27	31	3	61	88.9
N. Carolina.....	510	137		647	98	134	7	239	129	104	6	239	73.0
N. Dakota.....	24	174		198	46	117	60	223	89	79	55	223	47.0
Ohio.....	156	408		564	87	121	19	227	110	98	19	227	71.3
Oklahoma.....	171	90		261	76	113		189	113	76		189	58.0
Oregon.....	12	171		183	37	68	21	126	54	51	21	126	59.2
Pennsylvania.....	58	369		427	33	91	48	172	52	72	48	172	71.3
Rhode Island.....	2	39		41	1	3		4	3	1		4	91.1
S. Carolina.....	378	2		380		2		2	2			2	99.5
S. Dakota.....	20	247		267	59	136	73	268	95	107	66	268	50.2
Tennessee.....	455	275		730	39	73	18	130	55	57	18	130	76.8
Texas.....	1,541	55	I	1,597	181	206	15	402	214	169	19	402	79.9
Utah.....	21	124		145	53	58	5	116	58	53	5	116	55.3
Vermont.....	1	103		104	1	12	9	22	4	9	9	22	82.5
Virginia.....	144	108		252	92	114	1	207	113	93	1	207	80.5
Washington.....	10	155		165	48	79	43	170	60	69	41	170	49.3
West Virginia.....	138	206		344	48	76	17	141	60	64	17	141	91.6
Wisconsin.....	36	314		350	42	170	74	286	108	104	74	286	55.0
Wyoming.....	10	83		93	27	38	3	68	39	27	2	68	57.8

* See footnote of Table I.

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party allegiance and certain areas have been indicated as more subject to change than others. A certain amount of change goes on in every election and it occurs mostly in the direction of the winning candidate but also in the direction of the losing side. In the matter of forecasting presidential elections it seemed that those counties that had always voted for the successful candidate might be worth special study. Since these areas have been very sensitive to national issues in the past, they might be used as "laboratories" for straw voting and provide a means of

we might expect like Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, but it is surprising to find New Hampshire with two such counties. The South is not included among these counties but North Carolina could have been if Cherokee county had not had a tied vote in 1916. Ohio is represented by ten counties which is five more than the representation of any other state. Twenty-three of the counties are west of the Mississippi River. Table IV shows how nearly the vote of these counties is like that of the nation, and Table V compares certain demographic characteristics of the 47 counties with the nation according to the 1930 census. There is a considerable difference in the distribution of native

TABLE IV

PER CENT OF VOTES CAST FOR EACH PARTY FOR THE UNITED STATES AND FOR 47 COUNTIES

YEAR	UNITED STATES			47 COUNTIES		
	D*	R	X	D	R	X
1896	45.9	51.1	3.0	45.2	52.9	1.9
1900	45.5	51.7	2.8	44.0	53.8	2.1
1904	37.6	56.4	6.0	37.6	56.4	6.0
1908	43.1	51.6	5.3	44.4	51.5	4.0
1912	41.9	23.1	35.0	43.6	26.7	29.7
1916	49.3	46.0	4.7	50.6	45.5	3.9
1920	34.1	60.4	5.5	37.2	59.7	3.1
1924	28.8	54.0	17.1	29.8	54.0	16.2
1928	40.8	58.1	1.1	36.0	63.3	0.7
1932	57.4	39.6	2.9	56.8	41.0	2.2

* See footnote of Table I.

perfecting the technique of forecasting presidential elections. There are 47 such counties⁴ scattered among 14 states. Most of the states represented are ones that

⁴ The 47 counties are: San Joaquin, Sutter, Cal., DeWitt, Ill., Huntington, Vanderburg, Ind., Jasper, Mahaska, Palo Alto, Ia., Atchinson, Haskell, Lane, Morton, Republic, Kan., Frederick, Washington, Md., Cass, Mich., Blaine, Cass, Gage, Washington, York, Neb., Coos, Strafford, N. H., Barnes, Ramsey, Stutsman, N. D., Adams, Belmont, Erie, Hardin, Highland, Huron, Preble, Ross, Washington, Wood, Ohio, Crook, Wasco, Ore., Fayette, Pa., Berkeley, Marion, Pocahontas, Wood, W. Va., Waukesha, Wis., Albany, Fremont, Laramie, Wyo.

TABLE V

CERTAIN DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE UNITED STATES AND 47 COUNTIES, 1930

	NATIVE WHITE	FOREIGN BORN WHITE	NEGRO	OTHER RACES	PER CENT ILLITERATE	PER CENT URBAN
United States.....	77.8	10.9	9.7	1.6	6.0	56.2
47 Counties.....	88.6	7.3	2.9	1.2	2.4	42.6

white, foreign born, and Negro population in these two groups. The percentage of illiteracy is less for the 47 counties and less than the rate of 4.0 per cent for the total white population. These counties are less urban than the entire country. In fact there are only eight counties in this group of 47 where the urban population exceeds the rural and Evansville, Indiana, in Vanderburg county is by far the largest city represented. The population included in these counties in 1930 numbered 1,646,791. The sample could be enlarged by including the counties that have voted in accord with the nation since 1912. This would add 219 counties scattered among 30 states. 180 of these counties would be west of the Mississippi River.

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Special Book Reviews by L. L. BERNARD, ERNEST R. GROVES, FRANK H. HANKINS, CLARK WISSLER,
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AGRICULTURAL ADJUSTMENT

CLIFTON J. BRADLEY

University of Kentucky

- WHEAT AND THE AAA. By Joseph Standcliffe Davis. Washington, D. C.: Brookings Institution, 1935. 468 pp. \$3.00.
- TOBACCO UNDER THE AAA. By Harold B. Rowe. Washington, D. C.: Brookings Institution, 1935. 317 pp. \$2.50.
- THE DAIRY INDUSTRY AND THE AAA. By John D. Black. Washington, D. C.: Brookings Institution, 1935. 320 pp. \$3.00.
- MARKETING AGREEMENTS UNDER THE AAA. By Edwin G. Nourse. Washington, D. C.: Brookings Institution, 1935. 446 pp. \$2.50.
- LIVESTOCK UNDER THE AAA. By D. A. Fitzgerald. Washington, D. C.: Brookings Institution, 1935. 384 pp. \$2.50.
- COTTON AND THE AAA. By Henry I. Richards. Washington, D. C.: Brookings Institution, 1936. 389 pp. \$2.50.

One of the primary purposes of the Brookings Institution is "to aid constructively in the development of sound national policies." In keeping with this purpose, such studies as those reviewed here are made from time to time of governmental policies and activities. Conceived almost at the inception of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, and carried on concurrently with its operation, these studies, perhaps necessarily, are lacking in many important particulars. A contributing factor, not stated by the authors, was that as work on the studies proceeded, practicalities of admin-

istration demanded less accessibility to official data and records than had been expected when plans for the studies were being developed. On the whole, however, a surprisingly good job of reviewing and evaluating the activities and achievements of the AAA was done.

Terminated as such by the adverse decision of the Supreme Court on January 5, 1936, the history of the AAA is almost complete in the studies as published, since the first on wheat, went to press in April, 1935, and the last on cotton in March, 1936. A careful selection of persons to make the studies contributed in no small degree to the resultant high quality of work. Three of the authors had already won wide recognition as economists, and are regarded as authorities on the subjects, wheat, dairy products and marketing agreements, studied by them. The other persons were as carefully selected on a basis of special knowledge of the subject to be studied and particular aptitude to do unbiased research.

Because the central theme of each book is the same, and also because they differ only in that each treats of the production of particular farm commodities as affected for a period of approximately two years by a legislative planning mechanism common to all, the several publications are reviewed collectively. This treatment does not mean that all of the studies are of equal merit, but rather that a more coherent and concise statement concerning them may be made in this manner.

The Agricultural Adjustment Act was a compromise measure which included in its grant of powers all of the major proposals for farm relief which had been seriously considered prior to its passage. Stabilization activities, selling abroad of depressive surpluses (export dumping), loaning on stored farm products, aid to farmers' coöperatives, purchase of farm commodi-

ties for domestic disposal, and other procedures, as well as the better known production control (domestic allotments and parity prices), and marketing agreements and licenses, were provisions of the measure as enacted.

The compromise nature of the Agricultural Adjustment Act, with its wide choice of procedures, made possible the first rift in its administration. The primary purpose of the act was to improve the economic status of farmers, and the attack was to be on the existing disparity between prices paid and received by farmers. Secretary Wallace was of the opinion that in order to get higher farm prices it would be necessary to curtail production to balance effective demand. He, therefore, wanted the emphasis in administering the act to be upon production control. Unfortunately, Secretary Wallace chose George N. Peek as the first administrator of the act, and Mr. Peek had never viewed the farm problem as resulting from overproduction, but rather from faulty marketing methods and distribution. He, therefore, in administering the act, emphasized marketing agreements. Under these conditions, administrative troubles developed rapidly, and Chester C. Davis became administrator in January, 1935. After the appointment of Davis and for some time before, emphasis in administration was definitely on production control through voluntary domestic allotments, and the goal was "parity prices" for farm products.

"Parity Prices" for basic farm commodities, 15 of which were named in the Agricultural Adjustment Act, were to be such that one unit of a particular farm commodity would have the same purchasing power at any time as a like unit had during a base period, 1909-1914, for most products. Generally, the "parity price" concept was not kindly received by the

authors of the studies. An historical base period which projected relationships into the present which may have changed radically constituted the major basis for criticism.

The studies were published in the order as listed at the beginning of this review. The major attack on wheat prices was by production control through voluntary contracts. Two-year contracts with approximately 600,000 wheat farmers were signed whose production normally equals about three-fourths of the national total. Other efforts included a marketing agreement in the Pacific Northwest under which about 28 million bushels of wheat and flour were marketed; an international wheat agreement with 22 other countries to restrict production and to limit exports to definite quotas; regulation of the grain exchanges; development of grain handling and flour milling codes; and limited emergency purchases of wheat for relief purposes.

This study carries out better than any other the declared purpose of the series, namely, to describe what was done by the AAA and to evaluate the results. In his conclusions, the author states that:

Political and social pressures in 1932-33 were such that a fresh major experiment in governmental aid to wheat farmers was probably inevitable. . . . Control of wheat production through voluntary contracts has not been a demonstrated success. . . . Nor has the program demonstrated its ability to raise farm prices of wheat materially. Nearly all of the striking net advance, in cents per bushel, I cannot help attributing to the drouths in combination with the tariff, with some influence from dollar depreciation especially in 1934-35. . . . The major achievement of the wheat program in its first two years, as I see it, lies in having increased the income of wheat growers as a group (chiefly by adjustment payments to those who signed wheat contracts) by probably over 200 million dollars. . . . In this redistribution of national income, consumers as a class paid more money than wheat growers gained. . . . I do not think that it (wheat program) contributed appreciably, if at all, to promoting general business recovery or to increasing the total

national money income, as Congress and the public had been led to expect.

Probably the best written and organized study of the series is the one dealing with tobacco. Starting with cigar leaf tobacco growers in the summer of 1933, campaigns for control of tobacco production were pushed rapidly until contracts representing from 76 per cent of the base acreage production of dark air-cured to 98 per cent of the flue-cured tobacco were signed. Contracts and methods of control were developed for six general types of tobacco. Control efforts through voluntary contracts were supplemented by marketing agreements with tobacco manufacturers; by passage of the Kerr-Smith Act which taxed tobacco sold from farms not under contract; aid to farmers' tobacco coöperatives; and warehouse codes.

Tobacco is peculiar in that there are relatively few market outlets for the portion consumed domestically. Discussion of market methods and outlets leads the author of this study into a consideration of how both buying and selling prices are determined in such a buyers' market, and is one of the finest expositions to be found anywhere of monopolistic price determination.

Contrary to wheat, conclusions about tobacco were:

Immediately after the approval of the Agricultural Adjustment Act, the AAA proceeded with vigor and initiative in the development of a tobacco program. . . . Complex problems greatly added to the difficulties of the AAA, but they did prevent the program from being carried through 1933 and 1934 in such a manner that producers derived substantial financial benefits. . . . It may be that the benefits to be secured would not permanently justify the maintenance of the complex and expensive administrative machinery required for a program of this type. . . . But the evidence seems clear that during its first two seasons of operation the program has been successful in attaining the objectives which were sought with respect to tobacco.

Prices of dairy products did not break as soon as did those of other major farm products. When they did break, however, the fall was precipitous. Both of these conditions influenced the legislative treatment and subsequent handling of the dairy program by the AAA. When prices fell, action by the government was demanded and dairy products were termed basic which permitted the AAA to use any and all methods to improve the prices of dairy products. Marketing agreements and licenses were used almost exclusively, for although a production control program was discussed, one was never developed. Agreements and licenses were prepared and invoked on milk markets starting with Chicago. Dissatisfaction, friction, and court action followed rapidly in the wake of almost every agreement and license, and few of the agreements were renewed and many were discontinued before running their full time. Evaporated and dry skim milk marketing agreements were enacted, but agreements for butter, cheese, and ice cream, while discussed, were never consummated. Purchases of butter, cheese, evaporated and dry skim milk for relief use were very important at times in sustaining milk prices. Purchases of dairy cows in drouth areas and of diseased cattle helped, too, in restoring dairy herds part way back to normal.

Attempts by the AAA to improve prices of dairy products have all the earmarks of ill-advised meddling in situations about which too little was known in advance. In other words, action was initiated too often upon the urging of interested groups who were swayed by feelings and prejudice and not by reason and judgment.

In one respect, not at all in keeping with the declared purpose of the series, the study of dairy products is outstanding. Without doubt, it is one of the best studies

now in print on how prices of dairy products are determined.

Conclusions of the author lead him to believe that the proper approach to a solution of the dairy problem would have to be quite different from that of the AAA.

To close a study of the dairy program of the AAA without giving the reader some estimate of its accomplishments would sorely disappoint him. Yet there is nothing much that can be set down. . . . The marketing agreement and license provisions of the Adjustment Act were indeed conceived in haste, and very crudely designed. These crudities must be blamed for a part of the difficulties that followed; but for a relatively small part of them. . . . There is no gainsaying the conclusion that the dairy product part of the AAA program has not been well administered. This statement must not be taken as criticism of the efforts of the personnel of the staff of the Dairy Section, especially of its personnel since January, 1934. It is primarily to be attributed to the circumstance that a government agency was called upon to undertake something which nobody knew how to do and which perhaps could not be done at all under existing limitations. . . . The procedures by which dairy policy was determined, and decisions on agreements and licenses finally reached, were cumbersome, time consuming and throttling. . . . On the other hand, the administrators were altogether too much inclined to rush into undertakings before the legal implications were fully explored, and to belittle the legal objections raised. . . . The original marketing agreements were drafted in the midst of darkness and confusion, and the fog and storm have only a little lifted in most of the markets since.

Most fundamental, perhaps, and certainly the most general study is the one on marketing agreements, since the marketing of each commodity is discussed for which agreements were used. This necessitated discussion of dairy products, tobacco and wheat in addition to a host of other commodities for which production control programs were never initiated. Among other farm commodities for and to which marketing agreements were applied were: rice, watermelons, strawberries, apples, peaches, pears, prunes, cherries, apricots, persimmons, grapes, olives, oranges, grapefruit, tangerines,

celery, asparagus, raisins, walnuts, pecans, and peanuts. Recital of this long list does not mean that equal work was done on a marketing agreement for each commodity listed, but the list is indicative of the wide range of activities by the AAA under marketing agreements. All of these agreements were undertaken in response to farmer requests and interest, and suggest the pressure placed upon the AAA to do things, and furthermore, to do them rapidly along with an insistent demand for tangible results quickly.

It is much more difficult to appraise the results attained by farmers from the marketing agreement and license provisions of the AAA than for those commodities for which production control and benefit payments were developed. Only a qualitative appraisal of achievements is attempted by the author, and he concludes his study with an excellent discussion of the economic, social and political implications of controlled marketing, such as contemplated by marketing agreements and licenses, under varying hypothetical conditions. This study bears the distinction of being probably the most profound, basic, and well-balanced of the series.

Undoubtedly, the most complicated program of all was that developed for the control of corn and hog production. Farmer response to efforts of the AAA to reduce production of these major farm commodities was good as indicated by the more than one million farmers who completed corn-hog reduction contracts in 1934 and 1935. These farmers normally produce about three-fourths of the corn and hogs grown in the United States. As in the case of wheat, cotton, and tobacco, acreage rental payments were made for reducing corn production, and on a different basis, payment was made for reducing hog production. As was true of wheat, cotton, and tobacco, the major source of

funds for paying corn-hog farmers to reduce production was initial processing taxes on these commodities.

As a first step in the corn-hog reduction program, it was proposed to purchase and dispose of through other than regular marketing channels, 4 million pigs weighing between 25 and 100 pounds, and one million pregnant sows weighing not less than 275 pounds. In addition, large emergency purchases of pork and lard for relief uses were made. All told, the equivalent of slightly more than 2 million hogs were purchased with a live weight equal to about 4 per cent of the live weight of all hogs slaughtered under federal inspection in 1933-34. Other activities of the AAA in behalf of, or which affected, corn-hog farmers directly were the emergency drouth purchase of 8.3 million cattle, and loans of more than 125 million dollars in two years, by far the greater portion being made the first year, on corn stored in sealed cribs on farms.

Drouth soon became a factor of such consequence as greatly to complicate the operation of the corn-hog adjustment program. Summarizing, the author states:

A casual inspection of the chapter may lead to the conclusion that some gains accrued to farmers as a result of the AAA corn-hog program, and that neither distributors nor consumers were adversely affected—that the income of one group gained and that no other group lost. This is not entirely correct. The income of farmers was increased, though not greatly. . . . Consequently it seems that most of the gains of the livestock industry in the first three years following the passage of the Agricultural Adjustment Act have come, or will come, from the pockets of taxpayers in general, including producers themselves. A considerable part of this burden upon taxpayers must be attributed directly to the unprecedented drouth, and not to the planned reduction programs of the AAA.

The last of the studies to be completed was the one on cotton. As a start on a cotton reduction program, one out of every third row of cotton was plowed up by con-

tracting farmers in 1933. Material acreage reductions were also made both in 1934 and 1935, and the percentage of cotton under contract increased from 73.2 in 1933 to 94.4 in 1935. Production control of cotton was supplemented by the Bankhead Act which levied a heavy tax on all cotton marketed by non-contract signers, and complemented by government loans on cotton at stipulated amounts (approximately 10 cents in 1933, 12 cents in 1934, and 10 cents in 1935) per pound had the effect of "pegging" prices and essentially amounted to stabilization activities, since the government was loaning during much of the time the full market price or more of cotton.

This is one program where there is no doubt that through its operation the incomes of farmers were materially increased, estimated by the author at an average of 92 million dollars for each of the three years. Incomes of individual farmers have been stabilized by the cotton program, but apart from monetary income, the program has had other social effects such as decreasing the income of other cotton workers, and creating a surplus of tenants. Quoting from the author on this point:

While it is impossible to determine in any quantitative way the future effects of continuing a cotton reduction program along the lines of the past three seasons, the direction of its effect is clear. Such a program creates a surplus of tenants—not of landlords. The bargaining position of the landlord is strengthened and that of the tenant is weakened. . . . Furthermore, the income of the landlord over both a short- and a long-time period is almost certain to be increased (if from 100 to 120 million dollars is distributed in benefit payments) while the income of tenants as a group might be increased as a group for a short time but would probably be decreased over a long-time period.

By no means all that could be said about this series of studies has been expressed. Brookings Institution has again rendered a distinct social service by reporting currently on such a major social undertaking. Incidentally, the crop insurance features of the adjustment program through rental payments during drouths, and, also, the ever-normal-granary plan advocated by Secretary Wallace receive some consideration by the authors. Comments about the latter, however, are chiefly critical.

Although the adjustment program was probably justifiable and necessary under conditions existing in 1933, it may be stated in conclusion, that these studies show clearly some of the administrative difficulties encountered in operating such a planned economy. Aside from theory, something is now definitely known about what to expect from political management, group interests, climatic factors, supply and demand changes, and numerous other influences, under such a system of economy. More than anything else, perhaps, these studies suggest that only as flexibility is maintained will a planned system of economy operate successfully. Initially, much good may result from the adoption of a planned economy, but unless as great flexibility continues as under the supplanted system, continued operation will result in social loss.

Adequate forecasting and maintenance of flexibility are the major remaining problems to be solved by those who advocate the adoption of a planned system of economy. The operation of the AAA contributed little, and may even have done the opposite, toward solutions for these two problems.

RECENT WORKS ON PROPAGANDA

EDGAR A. SCHULER

Louisiana State University

PROPAGANDA AND DICTATORSHIP. Edited by Harwood L. Childs. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1936. 153 pp. \$2.00.

A REFERENCE GUIDE TO THE STUDY OF PUBLIC OPINION. By Harwood L. Childs with a preface by Edward L. Bernays. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1934. 105 pp. \$2.00.

PROPAGANDA. Its Psychology and Technique. By Leonard W. Doob. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1935. 424 pp. \$2.40.

PUBLIC OPINION AND POLITICS IN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY ENGLAND. By William T. Laprade. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1936. 463 pp. \$4.00.

PROPAGANDA AND PROMOTIONAL ACTIVITIES. An Annotated Bibliography. Prepared under the direction of the Committee on Pressure Groups and Propaganda, Social Science Research Council. By Harold D. Lasswell, Ralph D. Casey, and Bruce Lannes Smith. Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1935. 450 pp. \$3.50.

ROAD TO WAR. America 1914-1917. By Walter Millis. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1935. 466 pp. \$3.00.

BRITISH PROPAGANDA AT HOME AND IN THE UNITED STATES FROM 1914 TO 1917. By J. Duane Squires. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1935. 113 pp. \$1.00.

POLITICS, PRESSURES AND THE TARIFF. A Study of Free Private Enterprise in Pressure Politics, as Shown in the 1929-1930 Revision of the Tariff. By E. E. Schattschneider. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1935. 301 pp. \$2.50.

The term "propaganda," as a perusal of the titles in the *Readers Guide to Periodical Literature* under that head will quickly demonstrate, during the World War underwent a modification of meaning so drastic as to leave it almost unrecognizable. "Propaganda," for most people who speak American or English, rapidly lost its proselyting connotations and came to mean a sinister, subtle influence, diabolically inspired, directed toward evil ends. Apparently as an unintentional by-product of the artful but assiduous practices of Allied specialists in the manipulation of public

opinion, the powerful negative emotional charge which was acquired by such words as "German," "Bolshevik," and "enemy" generally, through incessant juxtaposition, came to be borne also by "propaganda." The strictly comparable, though vastly more efficient, practices of the British, the French, and later the Americans, never suffered seriously through designation by the odious terms.

Today, however, the situation is vastly different. In numberless conflict situations the protagonist designations of "educational campaign," "informational service," "publicity drive," "good-will advertising," "non-political speech" or tour, and so on, are opposed by the enemy epithet, "propaganda." No longer is the propagandist thought of as a purely foreign phenomenon, and no longer necessarily among the totally damned. He is still regarded as bad, no doubt, but he is known to have had headquarters, along with his indispensable colleague, the censor, in Washington, London, and Paris, as well as in Berlin, Vienna, and Moscow. His hand is recognized as pulling the strings of many a puppet which, while it may amuse, entertain, or instruct, is designed also subtly to effect predetermined attitudes. Discernment of this hand, incidentally, helps to understand many things today, both at home and abroad. The propagandist is regarded as being willing, given the means, to tackle either or both sides of any attitudes held by a group, regardless of size or characteristics, and at whatever distance, by media of incredible variety. This amiable adaptability, however, makes it practically impossible to formulate a generally acceptable definition of propaganda, and

renders agreement difficult even among social scientists. The lack of such consensus in the definition of the phenomenon to be discussed or investigated leads inevitably to subsequent confusion and futile disagreement.

This situation, unfortunately, is not much improved by the works here under consideration. Schattschneider frames the problem in his partially quantitative study of economic pressure group influences so as to get along very well practically without using the disputed term. Squires, early in his historical study of British World War propaganda, neatly sidesteps the whole problem of conceptual hair-splitting and sword-swallowing by a casual reference, in connection with the Crusades, to "what moderns would term propaganda." (p. 3) Millis, covering the same period, is writing primarily for popular consumption, hence definition of concepts is for him beside the point. Laprade, discussing public opinion and its manipulation in eighteenth century England, is constantly submitting evidence of propaganda, but likewise does not feel called upon to specify what he means by it. His quotation from an eighteenth century writer on the nature of "news," however, is too good to pass by: "a Politick Medicine, made up so cunningly that it proves an Elixir to one side and a Poyson to the Other." (p. 48) Childs, in his manual on public opinion, recognizes "the necessity for greater precision, both in concepts and in method" in the investigation of what he dispassionately terms "conscious opinion manipulation," "opinion management," and slightly euphemistically, "public opinion leadership," but allows "propaganda" to go undefined. Nor does he embrace this opportunity in his introduction to *Propaganda and Dictatorship*. In the last chapter of this work, however, we come finally

to a square facing of the problem and its difficulties by George E. Gordon Catlin.

First admitting that "'Propaganda' is a word that may have a large gamut of meaning," Catlin goes on as follows: "By propaganda is here meant the mental instillation by any appropriate means, emotional or intellectual, of certain views." (p. 127) The various types which he would distinguish within this broadly defined category are then indicated: dissemination of information by the press bureaus of governmental agencies; advertising; propagation of a religious faith by a missionary society; "Pushing of the views of a party" by means of lobbies, pressure groups, and so on; and inculcation by a government of an authoritarian point of view by means of "compulsory education of police coercion." These various types of social influencing admittedly have certain common characteristics, but to class them all as "propaganda" would seem to detract from rather than facilitate a precise treatment of the subject.

The alternative is to risk the charge of excessively limiting the scope of what may properly be regarded as propaganda. The present writer, nevertheless, ventures to submit what he considers the most distinctive elements in the concept: a conscious rather than an unwitting process on the part of the propagandist; an attempt proximately to influence attitudes, ultimately behavior, in predetermined ways; primary consideration for the welfare of the propagandist with scant regard for that of the propagandized group; dependence on symbolic or non-coercive means (though threats and rumors of force are not thereby excluded); strategic superiority of anonymity on the part of the propagandist with regard to the propagandized group. All of these elements are present in propaganda, but various combinations

of them (and of their opposites) are to be found in closely related types of social influencing such as education, missionary activity, indoctrination, reforming or uplifting, advertising, and publicizing.

Lasswell, widely known for his writings on this subject, offers another comprehensive formulation: "anybody who uses 'representations' to influence collective responses is a propagandist." (*Propaganda and Promotional Activities*, p. 3.) Very quickly, however, he restricts the scope involved: "propaganda strives to organize attitudes of love and hate, divorced from the transmission of skill." Further, as a *process*, "propaganda is the transmission of attitudes that are recognized as *controversial* within a given community." Finally, he suggests that "the term propaganda be reserved for instances of the dissemination of symbols or practices in which there is a large element of premeditation." Hence we have propaganda, apparently as the conscious promotion of emotionally *pro* or *con* attitudes of a controversial nature. This formulation still gives no recognition to what would seem to be of the essence of propaganda, regarded as a distinct type of social influence, viz., indirection, or the use of an indirect approach. To attempt arbitrarily to limit "pedagogy" to the transmission of physical and mental skills, "education" to the transmission of "*accepted*" skills and attitudes, and "advertising" to "paid publicity," or to minimize the importance of a homogeneous vocabulary in the discussion of these phenomena, as Lasswell does, by no means clarifies the situation.

Finally, Doob, presenting a whole volume on propaganda, not only fails to solve our problem by his original conceptual formulations, but does not even adhere to them consistently. To speak of "unintentional" propaganda (p. 89) is paradoxical to say the least, but to maintain seri-

ously that the entire *social order* is sustained by propaganda and propagandists (pp. 85, 200) so overburdens the concept that it falls of its own weight. Doob is apparently not making a distinction between the media of propaganda, on the one hand, and the propagandist and his propaganda, on the other. Obviously, one may unintentionally further the objectives of a propagandist, but that hardly makes one a propagandist. For example, a ventriloquist may cause a speechless person to appear to speak, but that neither gives the latter the power of speech, nor makes him a ventriloquist. Similarly, the subject of a hypnotist may carry out post-hypnotic suggestion quite unintentionally, but he would hardly be confused with the hypnotist, nor would his behavior be called hypnotism.

It is needless to belabor further the point of difficulties arising out of variously defined concepts. But in the problem under consideration the issue is not a purely academic one. In view of the current antipathy toward whatever comes to be known as "propaganda," Doob probably has genuine grounds for his hope "that the ability to label something propaganda and someone a propagandist, and a simultaneous insight into the fundamental nature of the process of propaganda, will combine to render many kinds of propaganda less effective. Thinking about propaganda, in short, may lead to the destruction of some propaganda." (p. 5) Since he is apparently not concerned with the destruction by disclosure of all propaganda, it is interesting to attempt to discover which types especially arouse his ire. Only one passage in the entire work seems really afire with angry emotion; the introductory paragraph of the chapter on Nazi propaganda. It makes the more vivid impression coming as it does immediately after an admirably constructive

analysis and criticism of the propaganda activities of the Communist Party of America.)

The outline of Doob's work is as follows: first, an exposition of personality and human behavior in terms of attitudes and suggestion; second an exposition of propaganda in the course of which various "principles of propaganda" are brought forth; third, descriptions, analyses, and criticisms of the propagandist activities of a number of selected organizations; finally, a survey of the "vehicles of propaganda."

The scientific level of the work as a whole may be gauged by the footnote which follows the first chapter:

The problem upon which statisticians lay so much stress, viz., the problem of "sampling," has been dismissed by means of the following challenge; a wide-awake individual is quite capable of determining the validity of these principles of propaganda as a result of the very general experience which he has acquired and will acquire in his own social environment. (p. 12.)

Turning now to the bibliography by Lasswell, Casey, and Smith, which is a comprehensive, substantial, and practically indispensable tool in this field, the reviewer wishes to make several critical observations. In the first place, although the work is subtitled "an annotated bibliography," it is primarily a classified bibliography, while the annotations are of secondary importance. On the basis of a sample count, only two out of five of the items were in any way annotated. Of these about half were one line or less in length, often referring only to pages bearing further references. Of those without annotations, many, possibly, did not deserve comment, but the usefulness of the work would have been greatly increased through an expansion of the information supplementary to the references. The generous treatment as to format—size of

type, spacing on the page, weight of paper—might well have been sacrificed to gain space for the annotations.

Second, since the annotations involve judgments on the part of fifteen or more individuals, it would seem preferable to have the judgments in some way identified. Third, much time would have been saved in the utilization of the bibliography if the items had been separately numbered, with index references to item numbers rather than to pages. Finally, as the preface states, the "compilation of the bibliography afforded an unusual opportunity to outline the entire field of propaganda study," but there are obvious disadvantages as well as advantages in this method of presenting the material. The main categories are largely obvious, but extensive classification results in the imposition of an hierarchical organization upon about one hundred ultimate pigeonholes which, taken in themselves, and in their classificatory relationships are by no means so obvious. As a guide to study in this field, the detailed outline would certainly be very useful and suggestive, but its organization would still seem to be arbitrary, and therefore an unsuitable plan for a reference work. To use the bibliography as it is, one must rely upon numerous "see also" references and the table of contents to supplement the index. The alternative preferred by the present writer, a very exhaustive index coupled with only the most unequivocal form of classification, while certainly no less arduous to the compilers, would have involved rejection of the opportunity referred to.

The brief essay on "The Study and Practice of Propaganda," by Lasswell is succeeded by the following parts: I. Propaganda Strategy and Technique; II. Propaganda Classified by the Name of Promoting Group; III. Propaganda Classified by

the Response to be Elicited; IV. The Symbols and Practices of Which Propaganda Makes Use or to Which It Adapts Itself; V. The Channels of Propaganda; VI. The Measurement of the Effects of Propaganda; VII. Propaganda and Censorship in Modern Society. Altogether, the work should prove an almost invaluable aid to the practitioner as well as to the student or scholar and teacher in the field of social control.

The study manual and bibliographic guide by Childs was developed for use in an undergraduate course on public opinion. It consists of twenty-two sections, each bearing the title of a lecture in the course, and comprising an elementary paragraph of introduction, a selected bibliography organized appropriately with regard to the subject matter, and a list of "topics for further investigation." For the teacher who does not go to the trouble of organizing his materials in this field in an original manner, or with the aid of such a work as that by Lasswell, Casey, and Smith, this modest reference guide should be convenient.

The work, *Propaganda and Dictatorship*, edited by Childs, consists of a series of six papers which represent "an outgrowth of round-table discussions during the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association at Chicago, in December 1934." The editor's introduction is notable for its balance and perspective. Says Childs: "It is above all necessary . . . that the student of public opinion relegate propaganda to its proper place among the innumerable factors that function in the opinion-forming process; some latent, others active; some capable of conscious control, others at work beyond the range of human management." (p. 4) Discussions of the state propaganda carried on by several European countries are presented by the following: Fritz Morstein

Marx on Germany, Arnold J. Zurcher on Italy, Bertram W. Maxwell on Soviet Russia, and Oscar Jaszi on Austria, Hungary, Yugoslavia, and Rumania. Of these the treatment by Marx is outstanding for its grasp and penetration. "The Scope of Research on Propaganda and Dictatorship" is discussed by Harold D. Lasswell. The concluding chapter, "Propaganda as a Function of Democratic Government," by George E. Gordon Catlin goes to the bottom of some questions which we in the United States would do well to consider. His discussion is stimulating and challenging, as well as timely.

Squires' study, sixth in the Harvard Historical Monograph series, unimposing in bulk, but a carefully done piece of work, is within its limited scope probably the most illuminating publication now available. It is based primarily "on the books and pamphlets issued by Wellington House," restricted further to only those official "titles which were distributed in the United Kingdom or in the United States," and limited in emphasis to the period ending "with the entrance of the United States into the war on April 6, 1917." Obviously, Squires does not attempt to tell the whole story of the propaganda factors, much less the whole network of other types of significant influences at work—economic, cultural, political, and diplomatic—leading to our participation in the World War.

But the rôle of chance tends to shrink to unimpressive proportions when one considers along with Squires' treatment such avowedly popular, but similarly disturbing, recent works as Riegel's *Mobilizing for Chaos*, G. Seldes' *Freedom of the Press*, and that by Millis, which will shortly be discussed. After a brief review of "the antecedents of World War propaganda," Squires treats of the organization of British propaganda during the war, fol-

lows with its functioning in the United States, and concludes, among other things, that:

Notwithstanding general reticence on the matter by British war historians, it is perfectly clear that a system for the production and wide dissemination of all types of materials on the British viewpoint in the war came into existence at approximately the time of the battle of the Marne, and continued functioning to the very hour of the Armistice. (p. 79)

The ineptitude of German World War propaganda is probably one of the reasons for the common knowledge of its having been attempted; conversely, it is probably the extraordinary subtlety of British propaganda and its promotion that, among other things, has retarded a general awareness of its having existed. Squires concludes with an appended "Check List of British Propaganda Sent to the United States Between 1914 and 1917," rather amazing not only for its scope, but because it includes the names of such scholars as Bryce, Bury, Durkheim, Gilbert Murray, and Arnold Toynbee.

Covering the same period as the work by Squires is Walter Millis' *Road to War: America 1914-1917*. Not primarily a work of research, this is a vividly dramatic interpretation of the process by which the United States became inextricably involved in the World War. It is significant here chiefly for two reasons: first, much more adequate recognition than usual is given to the basic factors contributing to the ultimate success of Entente propaganda in America; second, the superiority especially of the British propaganda strategy and machinery is frequently and amply illustrated. Millis may be guilty of over-simplifying a very complex period of history by benefit of hind-sight, of attributing excessive importance to certain prominent persons of that period, and of eschewing bias for the Entente to the point of sympathy for the Central Powers.

Possibly because of just this foreshortening, however, the work carries conviction to an unusual degree.

Although probably of more interest to the English historian than to the sociologist, Laprade's detailed treatment of politics in England from 1700 to 1742 contains much that is relevant to the present discussion. His work presents ample evidence of the use by early eighteenth-century Englishmen of a wide variety of opinion-forming media. Among those playing significant rôles were: petitions, pamphlets, news-letters, periodicals, tri-weekly, and by the end of the period, daily newspapers; the pulpit; the theater; political clubs; those amazing sounding-boards of opinion, the coffee-houses; "runners to spread reports by word of mouth; agents to guide the mob if one was wished, to give it drink and thus increase the noise, to find it effigies to burn, to furnish cries to make the points desired, if possible perchance to get it safely broken up." (p. 15) Laprade makes it abundantly clear that, whether called propagandists or not, the men who made use of these devices became adepts in attitude manipulation, experts in applied social control.

The last work to be discussed is Schattschneider's "study of free private enterprise in pressure politics, as shown in the 1929-1930 revision of the tariff." His investigation is based primarily upon the nearly 20,000 pages of testimony taken by the Committee on Finance of the Senate, and the Committee on Ways and Means of the House, during the public hearings on the Hawley-Smoot Bill, and secondarily, apparently, upon the official report of the Congressional Lobby Investigation.

At the outset, assuming "that there is a connection between economic interest and political behavior," and "that the nature of public policy is the result of 'effective demands' upon the government," Schatt-

schneider proceeds to marshal his evidence for the partisan ("Partisan" only in the broadest sense. Schattschneider is concerned not with party politics, but with the political influences of economic groups, of what he calls "the politics behind politics." His exposition, incidentally, contributes greatly to an understanding, while it suggests the practical inevitability, of the recent vigorous rejection by the House of the stringent Black-Smith bill on lobbying regulation.) and unrepresentative nature of the tariff-making process. The technical subject, as well as the form of the evidence—numerous tables and verbatim excerpts from the official records—are enlivened by the often dryly humorous style of the author. The

work should be of genuine interest not only to political scientists and economists, but also to sociologists and social psychologists.

That the manipulation of collective behavior by symbolic techniques, including the form known as propaganda, is fast becoming an applied science of tremendous importance is an inevitable conclusion based on a consideration of the foregoing works. Equally unavoidable, however, is another conclusion: those devotees of pure science whose rôle it is to wrestle with the hydra, propaganda, will do well soon to sharpen their tools and quicken their pace if they really intend to take the monster's measure.

SOUTHERN POLICY PAPERS

WILSON GEE

University of Virginia

- SOUTHERN POPULATION AND SOCIAL PLANNING.** By T. J. Woofter, Jr. Southern Policy Papers No. 1. Issued in Cooperation with the Institute for Research in Social Science, University of North Carolina. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1936. 10 pp. 15 cents.
- SOCIAL SECURITY FOR SOUTHERN FARMERS.** By H. C. Nixon. Southern Policy Papers No. 2. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1936. 8 pp. 15 cents.
- SOCIAL LEGISLATION IN THE SOUTH.** By Charles W. Pipkin. Southern Policy Papers No. 3. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1936. 42 pp. 15 cents.
- HOW THE OTHER HALF IS HOUSED.** A pictorial record of sub-minimum farm housing in the South. By Rupert B. Vance. Southern Policy Papers No. 4. Issued in Cooperation with the Institute for Research in Social Science, University of North Carolina. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1936. 16 pp., 27 illustrations. 15 cents.
- INDUSTRIAL SOCIAL SECURITY IN THE SOUTH.** By Robin Hood, with a preface by Mercer G. Evans. Southern Policy Papers No. 5. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1936. 22 pp. 15 cents.
- THE SOUTHERN PRESS CONSIDERS THE CONSTITUTION.** Edited by Francis P. Miller. Southern Policy Papers No. 6. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1936. 28 pp. 15 cents.
- THE TVA AND ECONOMIC SECURITY IN THE SOUTH.** By T. Levron Howard. Southern Policy Papers No. 7. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1936. 11 pp. 15 cents.
- SECOND SOUTHERN POLICY CONFERENCE REPORT.** Edited by Francis P. Miller. Southern Policy Papers No. 8. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1936. 23 pp. 15 cents.

These Southern Policy Papers are issued by the Southern Policy Committee for the purpose of stimulating interest in questions of public importance in the South. In the announcement concerning the series, the Committee states that it "does not necessarily approve of or agree with opinions expressed in the papers."

For those who perhaps do not know of the Southern Policy Committee, it should be noted that it is a comparatively recent organization, with a General Committee

and local committees in several of the Southern states. It seems to be designed essentially as an action group, principally "to encourage the formulation and recommendation of desirable public policies whether by groups or individuals, and as a means to this end to encourage persons who possess the proper qualifications to undertake political activity"; and, "to extend the discussions begun in local committees to the surrounding communities for the purpose of preparing the general body of citizens for more intelligent and socially-minded political action, and for the purpose of forcing political leaders to face the real issues involved." There would certainly seem to be a place for such an organization as this in the South and elsewhere in the Nation.

In *Southern Population and Social Planning*, T. J. Woolter, Jr., outlines in brief compass the high points of the population problem in the South. He feels that there is too great a population in the South for the present development of its resources, and that the implications of this situation are serious. He points out that thus far the plans for the improvement of conditions in this area have displayed a blithe disregard for population trends. He feels that social planning is feasible and that the program to be developed on this basis is that of "the reconstruction of an agrarian culture of expanding numbers, the rehabilitation of rural institutions and rural families, and the integration of this development with that of the other major regions of the nation."

H. C. Nixon in *Social Security for Southern Farmers* presents in an interesting manner some of the elements which he considers would be contributory to a greater social security of the farmer in the South. He does not view "social security" in the narrower sense the term has come to have in recent years, but calls for the ameliora-

tion of the farm tenancy problem, a constructive policy of land use to take the place of our too prevalent practice of land waste, improved credit facilities, an intelligent tariff policy, as well as State cooperation with the Federal Social Security Act, the benefits of which, in his opinion, will have to be made to apply more largely to farmers and farm laborers than is at present the case.

The longest and the most thoroughly done of these papers is Charles W. Pipkin's *Social Legislation in the South*. Pipkin tempers social justice with mercy in discussing the South, but he approaches the subject fearlessly and well armed with his facts and figures. In this pamphlet are discussed the status in the South of (1) workmen's compensation; (2) child labor laws; (3) mother's pensions, old age pensions, and provisions for child welfare; (4) female labor laws in the South; (5) administration of labor laws in this region; and (6) the Southern States and the Social Security Act. The reviewer knows of no other publication where one can more conveniently and authoritatively secure the essential material on social legislation in the South than in this comprehensive analysis of Pipkin's.

How the Other Half Is Housed by Rupert B. Vance contains two pages of text matter; the other 14 pages of the pamphlet are devoted to 27 pictures which set forth vividly a story of the stark tragedy of Southern housing which it would be impossible to give adequately in words. The principal deficiency of this pamphlet is that it does little to indicate ways of ameliorating the situation; and, indeed, the title of the paper would not indicate this difficult task as a part of the objective of the author in this particular effort.

The preface to *Industrial Social Security in the South* by Robin Hood points out that "industrial social security" as an economic

study involves, first, the adequacy of the income; second, the economic feasibility of its regularity and of its permanence; third, social factors affecting workers' incomes; and fourth, insurance against irregularity or impermanence. And it is from this broader approach that the author discusses these basic conditions or factors as they affect industrial social security in the Southern region. The fundamental consideration in the matter is viewed as that of a situation in which those seeking employment find jobs at annual wages adequate to sustain an acceptable standard of living. And, having set up this standard, the author concludes that the Southern industrial worker has not found conditions even approaching the basic criterion, and because of that fact, the minor threats to insecurity, such as seasonal and technological unemployment, become dwarfed in comparison to the major problem. He states that "even the impact of cyclical forces appears relatively less serious than the perennial threat of a labor surplus too large to be absorbed by industry or even reduced sufficiently by emigration to other areas." Drastic measures are viewed as necessary to the correction of these conditions, which in their application lead to the probability, however, that the present economic arrangements will be so altered eventually as to be scarcely recognizable.

The Southern Press Considers the Constitution, edited by Francis P. Miller, does not purport to represent a cross-section of the opinion of the Southern press as a whole. It is presented to show that "as far as the South is concerned, editorial writers are performing the function now that lawyers performed one hundred and fifty years ago," and that "newspaper men are doing more than any other group to stimulate liberal and progressive thought."

T. Levron Howard, Director of Eco-

nomics Research in the Tennessee Valley Authority, presents in the pamphlet, *The TVA and Economic Security in the South*, a tersely worded brief for the TVA. The work of this body is broadly divisible into three interrelated programs of development: (1) the control and proper use of water resources; (2) the conservation and preservation of land resources; and (3) a more widespread use of electrical energy. Moreover, these objectives are regarded as necessary not only to the welfare of the Tennessee Valley area, but to the South and the nation as a whole. Quoting: "The immediate program of the TVA does not in itself insure economic security to the South. It does, however, provide an instrument which may be used for raising the economic level of the area in which it operates by introducing elements of order, design, and forethought. The introduction of these elements will make it possible for the region to support its population in comfort. It will remove the necessity for economic security, if in fact such necessity ever existed."

The most recent of these papers is the *Second Southern Policy Conference Report*, edited by Francis P. Miller. It concerns largely the action of the Conference in Chattanooga, Tennessee, May 8-10, 1936, with regard to the reports of its sub-committees, dealing with the central theme, "Social Security for the South—Urban and Rural." Appendices are listed as follows: "Members of the Southern Policy Committee"; "Objectives of the Southern Policy Committee"; "The Southern Policy Association"; "What are Democratic Institutions?" by George Fort Milton; and "Members of the Conference."

The Southern Policy Committee is to be congratulated upon the publication of these papers. Their purpose in doing so is a most laudable one. The quality of

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them is good, and like all such efforts, will no doubt improve as the series grows. No small part of the problem of the Committee will be to get Southern people

to buy them and to read them. At least, such is the principal difficulty which all of their predecessors in a similar field of effort have had to encounter.

NEW BOOKS RECEIVED

- ALABAMA COLLEGE. The State College for Women. A Study of Employability of Women in Alabama. Montevallo: Alabama College. 88 pp.
- ANNUAL REPORT OF UNITED STATES PROBATION OFFICER OF THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE MIDDLE DISTRICT OF NORTH CAROLINA, 1935-1936. Greensboro, N. C. 25 pp.
- ANSWERING QUESTIONS ON MANCHURIA. South Manchuria Railway Company, 1936. 84 pp.
- LA SOCIOLOGIE ALLEMANDE CONTEMPORAINE. By Raymond Aron. Paris: Librairie Felix Alcan, 1935. 175 pp. 10 francs.
- CITY INDEBTEDNESS IN TEXAS. By J. T. Barton. The University of Texas Bulletin, No. 3628, July 22, 1936. Austin: The University of Texas, 1936. 102 pp.
- A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF STUDIES OF SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN THE PITTSBURGH AREA, 1930-35. Pittsburgh: Bureau of Social Research Federation of Social Agencies, 1936. 111 pp. \$1.00.
- BE GLAD YOU'RE NEUROTIC. By Louis E. Bisch. New York: Whittlesey House, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1936. 201 pp. \$2.00.
- INTRODUCTION TO SOCIAL RESEARCH. By Emory S. Bogardus. Los Angeles: Suttonhouse, 1936. 237 pp. \$3.00.
- BILAN DE LA SOCIOLOGIE FRANCAISE CONTEMPORAINE. By C. Bouglé. Paris: Librairie Felix Alcan, 1935. 169 pp. 10 francs.
- JEFFERSON IN POWER. By Claude G. Bowers. New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1936. 538 pp. Illustrated. \$3.75.
- DELPHIC WOMAN. By Claude Bragdon. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1936. 163 pp. \$2.00.
- HANDBOOK ON SOCIAL CASE RECORDING. By Margaret Cochran Bristol. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1936. 219 pp. \$1.50.
- THE FLOWERING OF NEW ENGLAND. By Van Wyck Brooks. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1936. 550 pp. \$4.00.
- THE PROFESSIONAL ENGINEER. By Esther Lucile Brown. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1936. 86 pp. 75¢.
- SOCIAL WORK AS A PROFESSION. By Esther Lucile Brown. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1936. 120 pp. 75¢.
- THE STORY OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO. By Ina Corinne Brown. New York: Friendship Press, 1936. 208 pp. \$1.00.
- PSYCHOLOGY AND THE SOCIAL ORDER. By J. F. Brown. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc. 529 pp. \$3.50.
- SOCIAL STUDIES. Intermediate Grades. Book One. By Herbert B. Bruner and C. Mabel Smith. New York: Charles E. Merrill Company, 1936. 440 pp. 96¢.
- SEX AND THE LOVE IMPULSE. An Outspoken Guide to Happy Marriage. By J. H. Burns. New York: Emerson Books, Inc., 1936.
- EDUCATIONAL, PSYCHOLOGICAL, AND PERSONALITY TESTS OF 1933, 1934, AND 1935. By Oscar K. Buros. New Brunswick, New Jersey: School of Education, Rutgers University, 1936. 83 pp. 50¢.
- ESCAPE FROM AMERICA. By Struthers Burt. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1936. 255 pp. \$2.00.
- FROM THE SOUTH SEAS TO HITLER. By Ivy Carl. New York: E. P. Dutton & Company, Inc., 1936. 283 pp. \$3.00.
- THE HOUSE ORGAN: AMBASSADOR OF SOCIAL WORK. By Hilary Campbell. New York: Social Work Publicity Council, June, 1936. 16 pp. 35¢.
- THE SCIENCE OF HYPNOTISM. By Alexander Cannon. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, Inc., 1935. 126 pp. \$1.50.
- RICH LAND POOR LAND. By Stuart Chase. New York: Whittlesey House, 1936. 361 pp. \$2.50.
- CASH RELIEF. By Joanna C. Colcord. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1936. 163 pp. \$1.50.
- COUNTY SCHOOL FINANCE IN TWO TEXAS OIL BOOM COUNTIES. By B. C. Barnes and Rodman Sullivan. Lexington: Bureau of Business Research, College of Commerce, 1936. 6 pp. Reprinted from the June, 1936, issue of *The Tax Magazine*, published by Commerce Clearing House, Inc., Chicago.
- RE-STATING ECONOMIC THEORY. By Charles Crawford. Paola, Kansas: The Republican Press, 1936. 128 pp. \$1.00.
- WHY QUIT OUR OWN. By George N. Peck with Samuel Crowther. New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1936. 353 pp. 50¢.
- WE SING AMERICA. By Marion Cuthbert. New York: Friendship Press, 1936. 117 pp. \$1.00.

- THE CIVIL-LAW CONCEPT OF THE WIFE'S POSITION IN THE FAMILY.** By Harriet S. Daggett. Reprinted from *Oregon Law Review*, Vol. XV, No. 4, June, 1936.
- IS JOINT CONTROL OF COMMUNITY PROPERTY POSSIBLE?** By Harriet Spiller Daggett. Reprinted from *Tulane Law Review*, Vol. X, 589-603, 1936.
- STATISTICAL METHODS IN BIOLOGY, MEDICINE AND PSYCHOLOGY.** By C. B. Davenport and Merle P. Ekas. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1936. 216 pp. 1936.
- THE JEANES VISITING TEACHERS.** By Jackson Davis. New York: Carnegie Corporation of New York, 1936. 29 pp.
- DIFFERENTIAL APPROACH IN CASE WORK TREATMENT.** Papers and discussions which were given at the meetings of the American Association of Psychiatric Social Workers, National Conference of Social Work, Atlantic City, N. J., May 26, 27, 28, 1936. New York: Family Welfare Association of America, 1936. 64 pp. 50¢.
- A HANDBOOK OF SOCIAL STATISTICS OF NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT.** By Thelma A. Dreis. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1936. 146 pp. \$2.50.
- RELIGION IN THE VICTORIAN AGE.** By L. E. Elliott-Binns. London: The Lutterworth Press, 1936. 526 pp. Post free, 15 shillings. (\$3.80.)
- DIE RELIGION DER ÄGYPTER.** By Adolf Erman. Berlin und Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter and Company, 1934. 465 pp.
- THIS WAY OUT.** By Henry Pratt Fairchild. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1936. 89 pp. \$1.00.
- NURSERY SCHOOL AND PARENT EDUCATION IN SOVIET RUSSIA.** By Vera Fediaevsky and Professor Patty Smith Hill. New York: E. P. Dutton & Company, Inc., 1936. 265 pp. \$2.50.
- THE RANK AND FILE MOVEMENT IN SOCIAL WORK, 1931-1936.** By Jacob Fisher. New York: New York School of Social Work, 1936. 49 pp. 20¢. Postpaid.
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AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

The thirty-first annual meeting of the American Sociological Society will be held in Chicago, December 28-30, 1936, with headquarters at the Congress Hotel. Both general and sectional programs will center upon the topic, "The Application of Sociological Theory," which has been chosen as the main theme of the meetings. Joint presidential addresses on Tuesday night, December 29, will feature Joseph S. Davis, American Statistical Association; Henry Pratt Fairchild, American Sociological Society; Arthur N. Holcombe, American Political Science Association; Alvin S. Johnson, American Economic Association. The annual dinner of the Society will be held on Wednesday evening, December 30.

Meeting in Chicago at the same time will be: the American Economic Association, American Political Science Association, American Statistical Association, American Association for Labor Legislation, American Farm Economic Association, American Accounting Association, American Association of University Teachers of Insurance, Association of Teachers of Business Law Econometric Society, National Association of Marketing Teachers, Sociological Research Association, and other allied groups.